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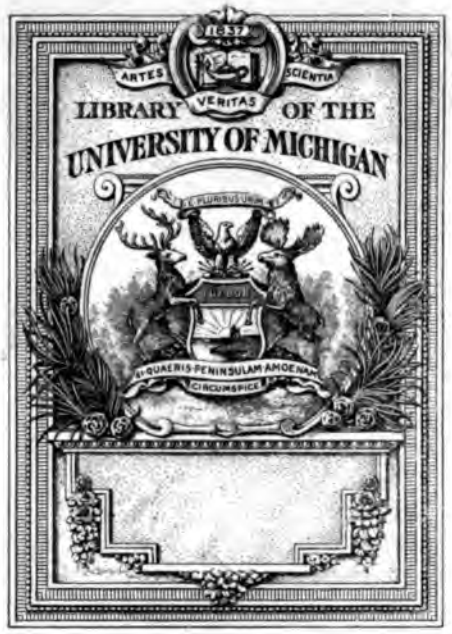
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The Old Rajah, † Batavia.
May 1895.

With

# the Dutch in the East.

## An outline of the Military Operations in Lombock, 1894,

Giving also a Popular Account of the Native Characteristics, Architecture, Methods of Irrigation, Agricultural Pursuits, Folklore, Religious Customs, and a History of the Introduction of Islamism and Hinduism into the Island.

By


Capt. W. Cool, (Dutch Engineers)

Knight of the Order of Orange Nassau; decorated for important War Services in the Dutch Indies;
Professor at the High School of War, The Hague.


Translated from the Dutch by E. J. Taylor.

With a Copious Index, a small Glossary of foreign Words and a List of Authorities quoted.

**Illustrated by G. B. Hooyer,**

Late Lieut. Col. of the Dutch Indian Army; Knight of the Military Order of William; decorated for important War Services in the Dutch Indies.


London:
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# INTRODUCTION.

In various articles relating to matters connected with the Indian army and to the Atcheen war, we have endeavoured to explain the wants of the Indian army, to give an insight into the life of the Indian soldier, to awaken sympathy for that army of which our own people know too little and which therefore often receives but scant recognition and is with difficulty rendered efficient for its task.

With this question ever before us, was it possible for us to refuse the flattering request of our former comrade, in collaboration with whom we published "A Beautiful page from Atcheen's history," once more to join hands and undertake a similar task?

We labour under no delusions as to the difficulties attached to writing about an expedition not yet belonging to the past.

Ought we then to have waited until the interest and sympathy for our troops, now at its height, had gradually subsided? We have decided otherwise and propose "to strike while the iron is hot!" Unfortunately our doing so is subject to certain disadvantages, for in spite of every effort to be accurate and correct, mistakes are bound to occur and for these we beg the indulgence of our readers.

Under these circumstances it is but natural, that from the critic's point of view, we shall only occupy a very modest place.

*The Author.*

# PREFACE.

If the writer of this work has considered it necessary to claim the indulgence of his readers, with all the greater reason must the translator do so. There is a wide-spread, and, I must admit, a well-founded prejudice against translations in general, and in this particular instance, I cannot even put forward the plea, that the author's name is a familiar or household name in our midst.

The title of the book however will, I hope, ensure for it a friendly reception; all things Eastern, appertain they to Eastern Europe, rEastern Africa or Eastern Asia, appeal to the sympathy of the Weste n mind and that is why I have ventured upon the translation of the present volume.

It not only covers the political history of Lombock (one of the Sunda Islands) from the year 1595 to the present time, but also deals with the every day life of the Sassaks, an interesting people, about whom little has been written in consequence of the stringent measures taken by their rulers to keep the foreigner at a distance.

The book opens with a letter, written in 1891 by the Sassak chiefs to the Netherlands Government, asking for protection against their neighbours, the Balinese, who had acquired a preponderating influence in the island. These poor natives enumerate their grievances and enlarge upon them in a quiet, dignified manner and one cannot help pitying the simple-minded men who write so touchingly about the sad fate awaiting the wives and daughters of their fellow-countrymen when bereft of their natural protectors and who not unfrequently in the life-time of husbands and fathers are exposed to the insatiable lust of their so-called masters.

Their religious observances, their funeral rites, their marriage ceremonies, all point to an extreme degree of conservatism and in many of their self-imposed laws we find not a trace of alteration since the time of their institution, many hundred years ago; it is very certain that numerous radical reforms are needed ere we can speak of the Sassaks as even semi-civilized and there is no disguising the fact that, "their customs are barbarous and morals they have none." Underlying all their peculiarities and superstitions, there exists, however, an honest desire for right, which is revealed in many of their long-standing traditions; it is astonishing to see the sense of honour found amongst the women, who submit to any humiliation rather than bring disgrace

upon their children by leaving their husbands' homes. Education too is appreciated and fathers and mothers all teach their children how to read and write; the islanders show a marked love of music and they also seem to enjoy theatrical performances and watching the dancing boys and girls. Unfortunately, the men are strongly addicted to opium-smoking, but their love of gambling and their infatuation for cock-fighting are justly looked upon as the prevailing vices in the island. Cock-fighting, however, cannot be looked upon as a mere pastime—it is in reality encouraged by the princes as a means of levying taxes upon their helpless subjects.

What cannot fail to arouse admiration and respect is the marvellous spirit of co-operation which exists. This is especially noticeable in the guilds established from the very earliest times for the protection of the homesteads and the division and supply of water for irrigating the rice-fields.

I have taken upon myself the responsibility of reducing an exceedingly lengthy and verbose chapter on the Early Connections of the Dutch with Bali and Lombock to a more readable quantity, retaining only what was absolutely necessary to prove the right of the Netherlands to intervene at the time her help was sought.

As mentioned in the title page, the work contains an account of the native characteristics, habits, agricultural pursuits, architecture and methods of irrigation; the folk-lore and religious customs, and the History of the introduction of Islamism and Hinduism into the Island of Lombock occupy a prominent place. The second half of the work gives the full History of the military operations of the Dutch Indian troops, who landed in Lombock in July 1894, and who, after a series of brilliant victories, succeeded in taking the reigning Balinese Rajah prisoner and restoring order to the island.

My best thanks are due to Captain Walter James of 5 Lexham Gardens, who has aided in translating military terms, which are difficult for the uninitiated to understand.

E. J. TAYLOR.

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MAP.

Map of the Island of Lombock.

# I.

## THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE EXPEDITION.

This letter* is from us, poor and uneducated people, by name: Mami Moestiadji, Raden Ratmawa, Mami Bangkol, Raden Wiranom, Mami Noersasi, Raden Melajoe and Djero Ginawang, residing respectively at and being chiefs of Kopang, Rarang, Praja, Pringabaja, Sakra, Mas Bagé and Batu Klian.

We are also writing it the name of the inhabitants of all the "dessas" and hamlets of this country and we wish to convey our most respectful greetings to the Resident in authority at Bulèleng.

We hope you received our previous letter and we want to give you further details about the position of the Mohammedans and Balinese here.

First of all, we wish to acquaint you with the fact that the kingdom of Salaparang originally belonged to the Mohammedans: from generation to generation our ancestors have owned this land; it was by force that the Balinese took possession of the princely dignity and placed the entire country under their own rule.

We have acknowledged their princely dignity and since we have become their subjects, we have always carried out their commands, yet we have always been cruelly treated and robbed.

At their bidding we have always paid the taxes on gardens and „sawahs" (nice plantations) and have brought in a sufficient supply of rice, paddy and kepings (money).

We have never failed in this since they have become the masters and we the subjects of this country.

When there has been question of building houses, or raising other edifices, or laying out pleasure grounds, we have done the work punctually. While thus employed we had to bring our own food, which was very hard for those living at a distance.

In addition to having to work like this for the princes, we had to do the same thing for the smaller Balinese chiefs, and still, notwithstanding this, we have been shamefully treated.

People have been put to death without trial and have very frequently been drowned in the sea. If the chiefs were annoyed with a man, he would be found guilty of some crime and condemned, and we dared not rebel. Often our property, such as "sawahs," gardens,

* Translation of a letter written by the chiefs of the East coast of Lombock to the Resident of Bali and Lombock and produced by the Colonial Minister in the First Chamber, 7th and 8th July, 1894 at the interpellation of Heer Pijnacker Hordijk.

buffalo-oxen and cows were taken from us without any sort of compensation, although as above stated, we were never remiss in paying our taxes to the full.

Our sons were often made slaves and our daughters, especially if girls of good birth, were taken away by force, some they took for themselves, while the others were subjected to all sorts of outrages and finally became courtesans. Sometimes grown up girls were taken— at others it was little girls of about seven. It not unfrequently happened that the parents of these children went out of their minds with grief, but what was to be done? nobody dared raise his voice.

Every year the taxes have been raised in a very unjust manner. We had coffee plantations, but after the harvest the prince's hirelings came and seized it nearly all, so that we had not even enough for our own use. If more than two or three „katis" of coffee were found in any one's house, it was immediately seized and, in addition to that, the owner was fined; the same thing took place with the coffee we received from Bulèleng or Sumbawa.

If the princes or notables wanted anything, either people or horses or wearing apparel, they simply took them, without seeing the necessity of giving any compensation.

By order of the Princes cock-fighting and dice-playing were continually kept up; those who owned any thing lost it, whilst others were driven to theft; the princes encouraged this pastime because fines were imposed on the players; as a result the small man became poor and in those dessas, where the games did not take place regularly, the chiefs were punished.

With regard to the inhabitants of the coast, the regulations were of such a nature, that it became next to impossible to obtain a livelihood; import and export duties were levied and even certain articles which are not dutiable were nevertheless taxed.

The taxes and the above mentioned dues have been exorbitantly increased and the princes have never troubled to look after the welfare of the country or the interests of the poor islanders.

We have been informed recently that the princes at Ampenan contemplate putting a duty on "kepings"; they claim 1 per cent on all debts or interest of debts and the same amount on all goods, which the people of the interior come and buy. The originator of this scheme is a certain Entji Oemar, of whom you may have heard already.

We have yielded to this last demand of the princes, but you yourself will see the gross injustice of this last measure.

Further, we wish to inform you, that, when hostilities broke out between Karangassim and Klongkong, we were ordered by the princes to provide weapons and food. Some of the inhabitants of certain districts were immediately summoned to take part in the war and they did so.

Those who were possessed of means of subsistence provided for themselves at Karangassim, but those who were poor were very badly cared for.

Finally those who could afford to return here did so, but many were unable to come home and we are still left in ignorance as to

whether they are dead or alive. This is the way we have always obeyed the princes.

Besides, we must tell you that when a Mohammedan dies here without leaving male issue, all his female relations, as well as all his real and personal estate are appropriated by the princes; as a result of this the girls are mostly converted into prostitutes. If the deceased leave brothers, they get nothing either, and later, when some Balinese is banished here from Karangassim, the lands are given to him, so that he may crush down the Sassak population to his heart's content.

Probably you have heard what happened in the case of the Chinese Bandar Ketjoe, who died at Ampenan; he only left a widow and one brother—he had no sons—well, we are treated in the same way.

Tracts of land which are suitable for "sawahs" or gardens, are frequently not allowed to be cultivated by the poor man, but are turned into zoological gardens (menageries) for the exclusive use of the princes; and these tracts are often to be met with, and the princes say, "we must show no pity to the Mohammedans, for they may rise up against us any day."

From this you can judge how ill-used we are by our rulers. They have also made it known that they had heard that some of the Mohammedans of Tangkah were going to rebel against them and that owing to the complications connected with the war in Bali, they were unable to do anything, but that after the war all those who had wanted to rebel, as well as all the notable Mohammedans, all the "hadjis" (pilgrims to Mecca) and the leaders of that faith should be put to death.

The Balinese "Punggawa" Ida Bargus Gama Oka stated this fact at the house of Hadji Abdurrahman at Ampenan in the presence of several people, some of whom came from Bulèleng.

Several young men, who had been employed in the palace, had heard the same thing and told us about it. For this decision of the prince there is absolutely no cause whatever, and we are continually hearing that many Mohammedans are to be put to death, especially at Praja. A young man, belonging to Praja, but in service at the palace, had heard the same thing and told the inhabitants of his "dessa". Not long afterwards a young Mohammedan was put to death by order of the Balinese punggawa, under pretext of his having stolen "padi", of which offence he was not in reality guilty.

In consequence of this, Goeroe Bangkol went three times to see the above named chief, but his complaint remained unheeded. Then he returned to Praja, informed his fellow-citizens of what had occurred and also of the intention of the rulers to put them to death.

The inhabitants of Praja immediately prepared to fight; this occurred on the 2nd of the month of Muharam (August).

When the rebellion broke out at Praja, the other Mohammedans knew nothing about it and we obeyed the order to march against that dessa. Praja was besieged and many of the hamlets belonging to it were burned to the ground.

Persons belonging to the dessa, who surrendered as being unwilling to take any share in the rising, were nevertheless put to death immediately by command of the prince. Amongst these were numbers of old men, women and children.

We executed the prince's orders to fight against Praja and on our side there were some few killed and wounded. No provision was made for us, we had to find our own food, so that those who had come from great distances suffered untold privations. Although we so implicitly obeyed the princes, still they did not trust us, for, as they expressed it, Praja was not being brought into speedy subjection, owing to the fact that the Mohammedans were secretly in unison with the rebels and did not throw themselves heart and soul into the fight.

Thereupon the chief of Batu Klian and all his children and followers, thirteen in number, were summoned from Pudjan to Sakra and on their arrival were all put to death. The same fate befell Mami Ardina of Praja. A son of the murdered chief of Batu Klian is one of those, who has signed this letter with us. When these occurrences took place the princes were at Pujong, in the neighbourhood of Praja, and all the "radens" and chiefs of the Sassaks dwelling in the district of Timor djoering were present.

Mami Noersasi, chief of Sakra, was ordered to come to Mataram with all his followers and bring a cannon with him, and whilst on the road he learned that they were all to be taken prisoners—so the chief fled back to his dessa. The same day 150 inhabitants of Sakra, 150 of Djero-Aru and 150 from other dessas, 450 in all, were taken prisoners and put in chains. When the Mohammedans heard that all these persons were to be put to death, they decided to rise in a body against the rulers, for they now well knew what was in store for them.

They were no longer going to submit to seeing their fellow countrymen killed off like chickens; and besides, the princes had expressed their determination that all the "hadjis" should be put to death, they having incited the Sassaks to rebel. As a matter of fact the "hadjis" did not incite us at all; we were influenced by no one, but decided among ourselves no longer to yield obedience after the outrages above mentioned.

It is true we are only poor people, but how can that be helped? We have endured all the things above set forth, and they are certainly not a tenth part of what we have had to put up with.

We hope that you will arrange to meet us, then we can tell you all about our miserable condition. We have not been able to do so in this letter, as we are very plain and simple people, unacquainted with the correct way of expressing ourselves. We hope that you will give your attention to our communications and that you will act as though the business, concerned yourself.

If any of our expressions are not quite right or if in any other way, we have failed in respect, we hope that you will not be vexed with us.

We beg to remind you that in our previons letter we asked you about weapons, and we wish to say that we hope you will be kind enough to reply to this letter.

All the Mohammedans of this country, even those of the dessas not specified, have consented to have this letter written by me Djero Mami Moestiadja and I have made them acquainted with its contents.

We offer you our most respectful greetings and hope to receive an answer.

Written at Kopang, on the 7th of the month of Djoema 1309 (9 December 1891).

DJERO MOESTIADJI of Kopang.
MAMI BANGKOL of Praja.
MANI NOERSASI of Sakra.
GINAWANG of Batu Klian.
Raden RATMAWA of Rarang.
„ WIRANOM of Pringa baja.
„ MELAJOE KOESOEMA of MAS BAGE.

At first however the prayers of those "poor simple people" were but as cries from the wilderness.

Had not the endless difficulties of the Atcheen campaign shaken our confidence in ourselves and in our strength both with the people and with the Government?

Was it not imperative that the troops should have more time to rest and recruit their strength? Was not the exchequer drained, was not a deficit imminent? And—quite recently—did not the unfortunate results of the Flores expedition show the necessity of greater prudence?

Was not our policy inspired by a pusillanimous, yet easily-to-be-understood dread of complications, combined with a desire to avoid all that might lead to disturbances?

Anyhow no attention was paid to the violation of the treaty of 1843 by article 1 of which, the government of Lombock had acknowledged our suzerainty! *

* This contract, produced by the Colonial Minister at the interpellation of Heer Pijnacker Hordijk is as follows:

AGREEMENT drawn up between Heer Hendrik Jacob Huskers Koopman as commissioned plenipotentiary of the Dutch Indian Government and His Highness Gustie Ngoerah Ketoet Karang Assam, prince of Mataram, now sole ruler of the island of Salaparang (Lombock) and dependencies.

Art. I. I, Gustie Ngoerah Ketoet Karang Assam, prince of Mataram, at present sole ruler of the island of Salaparang (Lombock) and dependencies, acting for myself as well as for my successors, declare this island to belong to the Dutch Indian Government.

Art. II. Therefore I, promise that neither the above named island nor yet any part of the same shall ever be ceded to any white nation of whatever name, nor shall I enter into alliance with any such.

Art. III. Every three years an embassy shall be sent to Batavia by me, prince of Salaparang and my successors to pay homage to His Excellency the Governor-General, as representative of His Majesty the King.

With that object in view an embassy shall be sent for the first time in this current year of 1843.

During their stay at Batavia the expenses of these embassies shall be defrayed by the Government, whose special protection they shall enjoy.

Art. IV. If the Government should think fit, for any reason, to send from time to time, an envoy to Salaparang, (Lombock) the said envoy shall enjoy the same privileges there as those guaranteed in the foregoing article to the Salaparang envoy.

Art. V. The commissioner and the above-named prince, judging it necessary that a stop should be put to the barbarous practice on the island of Salaparang, known by the name of Tawang-Karang, (right of jetsom) by which the cargo of ships and steamers wrecked off the coast of this island, ceases to belong to the passengers and crew—who besides losing their

Every fresh insult, every new encroachment was blinked at with most admirable patience!

Thus it was in June 1891 when the Government of Karangassim went to war against the "Dewa Agong" of Klongkong and the Lombock princes, without consulting the Governor-General conveyed troops and war stores to Bali to assist Karangassim.

Thus it was in August 1891—when a rebellion broke out amongst

property, are exposed to most cruel ill-usage—have both decided to lay down the following regulations:

*a.* The Prince Gustie Ngoerah Ketoet Karang Assam declares that in compliance with the desire of the aforesaid Government he makes an irrevocable renunciation for all time of the tax, known as Tawang Karang, as above described.

*b.* In consequence of this he, the prince, promises that in future, all ships and vessels, which may be unfortunate enough to get wrecked off any part of the coast within his dominions, together with all the passengers and crew, shall receive all possible help, such as is given in all countries under the Dutch Indian Government.

*c.* Salvage money for goods saved must be reckoned at 15 p. cent at the very lowest and 50 p. cent at the very highest, on the value of the materials saved.

The minimum of 15 p. cent will only be accepted on things which have been saved with very little trouble and without danger.

On the other hand 50 p. cent must be given, when for instance there is need for deep diving, thus endangering life and incurring heavy expenditure.

Moreover the amount of the salvage money, shall always be fixed by an arbitration committee, but in all cases according to the scale before named and taking into consideration the more or less danger to life and the more or less trouble and expense incurred in the recovery of the goods.

The committee shall consist of:

one member representing the Dutch Indian Government;

one member representing the prince of Salaparang (Lombock) and

one member representing the wrecked vessel.

The member elected to represent the Dutch Indian Government is George Pocock King, merchant, now residing at Ampenan.

Art. VI. The prince further promises that the most active protection shall be afforded to all trade in général.

Art. VII. The Dutch Indian Government declares that as long as the princes of Salaparang (Lombock) carry out faithfully the foregoing articles, no attempt shall be made by it to establish itself in the island nor to interfere with the internal administration thereof, which administration shall, on the contrary be left entirely, under the control of the princes of the country.

Done at the palace of Mataram in the island of Salaparang, (Lombock), on this the seventh day of June eighteen hundred and forty-three.

H. J. Huskus Koopman.

By decree of the commissioner of the islands of Bali and Lombock,
*the accredited envoy to the islands,*
W. H. Brouwer.

The preceding signatures written in Balinese characters are that of the reigning prince.
Gustie Ngoerah Ketoet Karang Assam,
and the prince's younger brother and probable successor to the throne,

notables.
- Gustie Gedee Karang Assam and Gustie Gedee Wanasarie.
- Dewa Anom.
- Gustie Gedee Rai.
- Gustie Ninga Pagoejangan.
- Gustie Njoman Tankaban.

known to me,
*The envoy attached to the commissioner of the islands of Bali and Lombock.*
W. H. Brouwer.

the Sassak population and the princes neglected to notify the Government of the occurrence.

Thus it was in February 1892—when, in consequence of the rising, the controller, J. H. Liefrinck, sought to obtain admission to the princes at Mataram and was put off under various pretexts, while two letters of the Resident's received but unsatisfactory and evasive replies.

It was the same thing again when the princes imported weapons and war materials without asking the consent * of the Government and even went as far as chartering vessels, manned partly or entirely by Europeans, for the transport by sea of their troops and war materials.

Although the controller Liefrinck repeatedly warned them that the importation of arms into the Dutch Indies without leave was prohibited by the Government, and, that under no circumstances, would it be possible for the Dutch Indian Government to allow these steamers to be used for warlike purposes: still no notice was taken. The Lombock princes went even so far as to forbid the captain of one of the chartered vessels to go on board of one of our men-of-war. When called upon to present his ship's papers, he refused to do so and at the same time behaved in a most unbecoming manner to the Dutch Naval Authorities.

Finally, when in May 1892, the Resident of Bali and Lombock went himself to Lombock to demand an explanation of these extraordinary proceedings, he was not received; he was informed in haughty tones that the Government of Lombock did not consider itself bound by the dictates of our Government as regards the use of warships; and apologies for the unseemly conduct towards our naval officers were refused.

In more recent despatches the princes denied the right of our Government to apply to them the police regulations observed at sea and they entered a protest against the embargo, which our Government had finally considered it necessary to place on two Lombock vessels, lying at Surabaya.

They even went so far, these Lombock princes, as to try and sow dissension between us and a foreign Government. First of all, they sent one of their dependents to Singapore with the political treaty, in order to obtain legal advice about it and, if possible, to seek the intervention of the British Government against the Dutch Indian Government.

I, the undersigned, declare that I was present at the concluding of this treaty and respectfully accept the appointment to be a member of the arbitration committee.

G. P. King.

The present treaty is confirmed on this the 28th day of August 1843, but only on the express condition, that the wording of article VI shall be understood to mean, that if any Dutch subjects should wish to establish themselves in business on the island, the prince shall allow them to do so, and that they shall be permitted to place themselves under the Dutch flag in such a manner, as to feel that they are secure in their places of abode.

*The Governor General of the Dutch Indies,*
P. Merkus.

In the historical survey of our former relations with Lombock, we shall again refer to this treaty.

* In contradiction to the general decree of 30 Nov. 1876, regarding the import and export as well as trade with the interior in fire-arms, gunpowder and other materials of war, other than for the public benefit.

Finding themselves thwarted in this by the advice they received, they sent an Austrian, residing at Ampenan, to Singapore with an announcement, translated into English and intended for the "Straits Times," to the effect that the prince, as Rajah of Lombock, had nothing whatever to do with the Dutch Government, and that he was perfectly independent and so forth. At the request, however, of our Consul-General the notice was not inserted.

Surely this act might be looked upon as really the "last straw!"

And did the Government consequently feel that it was undignified to be thus set at nought and decide at last upon taking summary measures?....

No—it is not yet quite the "last straw!"

First they would try and have recourse to "amicable" intervention.

The Governement decided therefore—April 1893—to consult with the Resident of Bali and Lombock, Heer Dannenbargh, as to whether the Lombock Government would receive favorably a proposal from us, to try and bring about a compromise between the lawful authorities there and the rebels?

At the same time the Governor sent to the resident under date of 22 April, a letter addressed to the Lombock prince:

"This well-meant letter—such is the friendly beginning—dictated by a clear conscience, is by the help of the Lord of all the worlds, sent with many greetings from us, Meester Cornelis Pijnacker Hordijck, Governor-General of the Dutch Indies, Commander of the Order of the Netherlands Lion, knight of the Order of the White Eagle of Russia, authorized to govern all the Dutch Indies and seated on the throne at Buitenzorg, to our friends Ratoe Agoeng G'de Ngoerah Karang Assim and Ratoe Agoeng K'toet Karang Assam, who, by virtue of the treaty concluded with the Dutch Indian Government, are authorized to rule over the provinces of Salaparang and Karangassim and who are enthroned in the palace of Mataram. May they and those belonging to them have long life and prosperity."

In spite of all the "Well-meaning and kind wishes," it was just possible that the remainder of the letter should prove less acceptable.

"Taking into consideration the fact that Lombock forms a part of the dominions of the Dutch Indies and, that therefore, the inhabitants there are entitled to our protection, when it is sought for on good grounds, we think, now that the Sassak population has had recourse to the Dutch Indian Government for help and protection—see beginning of enclosed letter—that the time has arrived to draw the attention of our friends to the fact that a great part of the island of Lombock has been already for more than a year and a half in a state of insurrection, causing a great amount of disorder in everyday life, which is not only prejudicial to the people, but which has also been in no small degree productive of troubles and complications to our friends."

"If," added the Governor-General, "the Resident had any reason to fear that the delivery of this letter might in any way lead to armed intervention on our side, then it would be just as well to postpone the delivery."

We will only point out how very *cautiously* they went to work.

Although the Resident replied, that the offer of compromise would probably be acknowledged by a polite, but evasive answer from the princes, yet the Governor-General—June 1893—decided to let matters proceed so far as to prepare the Lombock rulers for eventually receiving a letter from the Governor-General.... at least, if the controller, bearer of the letter from the Governor, would be received in a satisfactory manner. For if not, then the delivery of the document must be postponed or at least further instructions would have to be obtained from Batavia.

Again, we must bear witness to the great *prudence* displayed.

And in order, above all things, to prevent complications, it was *once more earnestly impressed upon the Resident to avoid anything, which might lead to an armed expedition against Lombock.*

For instance, consideration was given to the danger to which the controller might be exposed and to the eventuality of the Lombock Government sending a reply of a threatening nature. The Resident was most emphatically instructed *to study the situation carefully and if in his opinion any such danger was to be anticipated, he was to notify the same to the Governor-General before sending the letter.*

This again goes to prove with what *extraordinary cautiousness* and *circumspection* the Governor-General acted in this matter.

The colonial report will supply us with further information concerning the letter in question.

On the 22nd June a native interpreter was sent from Bulèleng to Lombock with a (not *the)* letter from the Resident to enquire when and where, in view of the existing disturbances in the island, the princes would receive the controller entrusted with the letter of the Governor.

The answer dated 4th July sounds somewhat droll!

If the controller were coming to bring the letter and to settle the matters, which the princes had discussed in their letters of July 1892—these letters expressed a desire for the repeal of the police regulations, directed against them in connection with the embargo laid on the two famous Lombock steamers, etc.—then they would receive him in the usual way!

On the 17th July the Resident was authorized by telegram to allow the controller to start for Lombock in order to hand over *the* letter, and if necessary to hear any proposals the princes might make, without however committing himself to accept them.

Surely *this* advice was superfluous!

On the 24th July, the controller having arrived in the harbour at Ampenan, sent the interpreter ashore, and the latter not meeting any of the Lombock "pumbuckles" there, went to Mataram, where the Governor promised him that he would, without delay, acquaint both the Princes, now at Kota Radja, of the controller's arrival.

Although two "pumbuckles" came on board next day and assured the controller, he should have a speedy interview with the princes at

View of Tandjong Priok.

Mataram, still the meeting was constantly postponed for some reason or another.

In our opinion the disturbances must by this time have spread as far as the immediate neighbourhood of Bogor, the usual residence of the Government officials, so that it would have been difficult to receive the controller there. No heed was paid to the suggestion made by him, that it would be sufficient if he were afforded an opportunity of presenting the letter to the princes in one of their "poeris" at Mataram or Tjakra Nagara and that he could return on board until the reply was ready and once more go on shore to receive it at one of the "poeris."

Instead of that, in the afternoon of 29th July, a "pumbuckle" came on board, as representative of the authorities to prevail upon the controller to return to Bulèleng for a time, as it would be impossible for the princes to see him within the next few days; but that as soon as it was convenient they would let the Resident know.

They had however on this very morning received in audience a European lawyer, from Singapore, one who was evidently advising the Lombock rulers.

After wasting six days in the harbour the controller was obliged to return, without having accomplished anything.

And of course there was no question of an apology!

The promised notification as to when the Governor-General's letter could be received remained non-forthcoming.

Such then was the conduct of the Lombock rulers towards their Suzerain!

During the whole of this period warfare was being carried on in the interior and the inhabitants were running imminent risk of utter annihilation!

Such was the state of affairs when the Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk gave up office.

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Very shortly after his appointment, the new Governor-General, Jhr. C. H. A. van der Wijck, redemanded the letter written by his predecessor and which was still in the custody of the Resident and began seriously to consider what would be the best line of conduct to pursue in connection with Lombock.

From various sources information was being brought in about the insurrection.

Thus the commander of the warship stationed at Ampenan reported that owing to the disorders having spread to the West coast of Lombock, the rulers had been obliged to withdraw some of their troops from Central Lombock in order to defend Mataram, Tjakra Nagara and Narmada, and that the rebels seemed to be getting the upper hand.

Permission was refused to Gusti G'dé Djilantik, prince of Karangassim, who was still fighting the Sassaks, to purchase a large number of guns and a proportionate quantity of ammunition, ostensibly for Karangassim, but in reality intended for the Lombock rulers, who

were making serious preparations to win back lost ground and to bring once more into subjection the dessa of Sekarbela, which was suffering from a rice famine.

At the beginning of January a trustworthy Bugis, who had been sent by the Resident to the East coast to obtain information,* was able to report that there had been but little fighting in East Lombock during the last few months and that by mutual consent it was decided to place posts of observation along the frontiers, but that although the rice harvest could only take place in three months' time, in several districts there was a scarcity of food, and many Sassaks had to be satisfied with all sorts of makeshifts and that in the neighbourhood of Praja and Sakra alone, over two hundred people had died of starvation. The chiefs of Sakra conveyed to this Bugis a letter—20 February—in which they, in the name of all the Sassaks in authority, requested the intervention of the Government. †

In order to procure further particulars as to the accuracy of these statements regarding the existing famine and if necessary to take measures against it, the Governor-General sent Liefrinck to East Lombock; he was at the same time to acquaint the princes with the reason and the object of his mission (26 Feb).

On the 27th the controller left Bulèleng and on the 3rd March reached the East coast, which district he really found in the most lamentable condition.

Let us see what he says about it:

"On the following morning," he writes, "I went to visit the fugitives in the settlements of the neighbourhood of Sakra and was not long in discovering that the reports which had reached Bulèleng were far from exaggerated. In many cases the dwellings consist only of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree and there is no question of any suitable sleeping accommodation, so that a good deal of sickness results.

"Walking through these temporary settlements, there is no need to enquire whether hunger exists; the hollow cheeks, the emaciated bodies tell their own tale too plainly.

"The poor little children are the most to be pitied; owing to the misery and lack of food of these past few months, hardly anything is left of the poor little mites but skin and bone.

"In several places I saw the people preparing their meals, which consisted mostly of a quantity of chopped papajastam, pisangstam and a few young leaves, and in very rare cases a handful of "djagoeng" was added.

* He was to find out whether it was true or not that the aged prince was still alive—contradictory statements having been sent in. It is characteristic of the people, that this spy was unable to obtain positive information on this point, regarding which uncertainty prevailed until General Vetter had a personal interview with him.

† The translation of this letter is as follows: "This letter is sent with the utmost humility by us Raden G'dé and Dj'ro G'dé Mami Kertawang of Sakra to the Resident of Bulèleng. We hereby request your help in the difficult circumstances, in which we are placed and we wish to inform you that all men in authority in this country are relying upon the assistance you will give us. Written 20 February, 1894.

"After this look round, during which I visited about 200 of these unfortunates, I saw that help was absolutely needed, and knowing, that in that case, it would be given, I decided to return on board immediately and inform Your Excellency of the State of affairs."

After that the controller had an interview with the chiefs and what he gathered from them he relates as follows:

"Referring in the course of conversation to what I had seen that morning, it was pointed out to me that what I had been able to discover in such a short survey, was but trifling in comparison to the misery in other places, Praja for instance.

Soldiers' wives.

"In order to give me some idea of the extent of the famine they mentioned the names of 28 dessas which are now nearly quite deserted, amongst which several, such as Rarang Kopang, Batu-Klian and Turadadi formerly contained three thousand or more inhabitants, so that according even to their very moderate estimate, the fugitives must amount to 50.000 persons.

"There is not a single dessa or hamlet where they are not to be found; sometimes they are received in the dessas and establish themselves in the existing homesteads, where frequently the open spaces under the rice barns, are fixed up so as to accommodate an entire family; and sometimes they establish themselves in groups outside the dessas.

"All the chiefs declared that they did all in their power to alleviate the sufferings of these poor people, but that it was quite impossible for them to supply food for all.

"In many instances they have given up all the available space in their own homesteads; one of them assured me he had lodged as many as seventy wanderers.

"In the course of the following days" continues the controller, "I visited the dessas of Mas Bagei, Dasan Lekong, Kali-Djaga and Pringgabaja, where, as well as in the outskirts, there were many fugitives, who were just as badly off as at Sakra, and in Pringgabaja things seemed if possible, worse!

"Praja, however, seems to be suffering from the greatest distress of all; I have been unable to go there, as it is a three days' journey, besides which, there is a rumour current that an invasion of the Balinese may be expected any day.

"From what I have actually witnessed, I have no difficulty in believing the report received at Bulèleng that corpses had been seen on the roadside near Praja; I have not seen any with my own eyes, but judging from the emaciated skrunken appearance of the greater number of the fugitives, it is quite possible to imagine that some of these poor wretches must succumb on their way from one dessa to another.

"Everywhere I receive the same accounts of the famine and in the dessas I have more recently visited they seem to use the same sort of substitutes for food.

"In many cases parents have been known to sell their children to obtain food for themselves; usually the price received is a 'rijksdalder,' (4s. 8d.) but instances have occurred, where they have had to be satisfied with 400 kèpengs. (1s. 4d.)

"With the exception of the chief of Praja, I have met all the present chiefs of the East coast. The most influential amongst them are: "Raden G'dé Mamy Ketawang of Sakra, Raden G'dé Melajoe Kesoema and Raden Soehara of Mas Bagei, Raden Rarang of Rarang, Mangei Kanat of Batu-Klian and Raden G'dé Wiranom of Pringgabaja.

"According to my instructions, I have abstained in all my interviews with the chiefs from discussing their hostilities with the Balinese and I have given them to understand from the outset that my mission was undertaken solely to enquire into the state of the people in connection with the terrible famine.

"This however did not prevent them on their part from repeatedly referring to the disturbances which had been going on for some years past and to the events which had driven them to rise against the Balinese; the accounts of the treatment which they and their inferiors have received coincide entirely with what we have already heard. They wish it to be clearly understood that under no possible circumstances would they ever again submit to Balinese rule; what they had borne previons to the outbreak of the war would baffle all description and if it were the intention of our Government to force them to it, they would, every man of them, prefer to be put to death at once.

"It is not astonishing that the chiefs should express themselves so strongly, for they are one and all acquainted with the plans made by Anak Agoeng Madé for their extermination, after the rebellion has been stamped out. At a large meeting at Mataram he announced, that as soon as the country was once again under his rule, it was his

intention to put to death all the former chiefs, all the descendants of good families and all the hadjis; and if there is any truth in the following story, which is being widely spread all along the East coast of Lombock, then he really appears to be a likely sort of man to satisfy his insane hatred by carrying out his terrible threat.

"Some little time ago two notables of Praja, having acceded to the pressing request of Gusti G'dé Djlantik, prince of Karangassim to place themselves once more under his rule, were well received by him, provided with all necessaries and lodged in the neighbourhood of Sekar Bela. No sooner did Anak Agoeng Madé hear this, than he sent for them to go to Tjakra Nagara, and after detaining them there for one day had them put to death, for no more ostensible reason than his inveterate hatred of all the Sassak notables."

The perusal of this report quite did away with all hesitation as far as the Governor-General was concerned—the time for intervention had arrived.

"Under the circumstances," writes the Colonial Minister to the Governor-General on 28 May, and the manly tone does one good to listen to, "it appears to me that it is the duty of the Dutch Indian Government, as Suzerain of Lombock, to give active assistance to her subjects, who have repeatedly begged for protection and no further time can be lost in passive observation of events, etc."

In the early part of February the Resident of Bali and Lombock was summoned to Batavia for a personal interview. This however was postponed until the latter part of March, so as to secure the presence of the controller, after his recent inspection of the country.

It is more than probable that the Lombock Government was warned of the impending conference, for with that cunning peculiar to their race, the princes suddenly decided that *something* must be done.

Anyhow, just a few days before the departure of the Resident and the controller, a letter dated 12 March was received by the former, who had been waiting seven months for a reply to his request to be received by them.

All sorts of pretexts were put forward for having been unable to receive the letter of the previous Governor-General in July 1893, but no apologies were offered; they intimated that as far as the war was concerned, they felt more and more reassured—in other words that there was no occasion for our interference;—that they would be pleased to learn in writing, "whether it was intended to carry out the plan of sending the controller to Selaparang, so as to be able to meet him as mentioned in their answer of 4 July 1893."

Perhaps the reference to that letter was meant to be a piece of irony! and, certainly, it was overstepping all limits, when two days later (14 March) the Lombock government, in reply to a letter, containing an account of the terrible misery prevailing and verified by investigations instituted at the request of the Resident, expressed their displeasure, and said it was no part of the Resident's prerogative to meddle with the internal

condition of Selaparang; that none of his predecessors had ever done so and that it would suit them better if the Resident would act as the previons one had done.

Such was the language of the vassal to his Suzerain!

Meanwhile the Resident had left for Batavia before receiving this letter.

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In consequence of all these events and taking into consideration the assurances of the military authorities concerned, that there was nothing to prevent decisive measures being taken against Lombock, to be followed if needs be by more forcible ones, the Indian administration finally decided to *take action*.

Before proceeding to arms, the Governor-General decided to try pressure once again. In 1887 our naval demonstration had the desired effect of compelling the princes to accede to the demands we made.

On the 27th May the Resident was instructed to obtain a personal interview with the princes and place before them the grievances and complaints of the Government and to demand:

1°. a proof of sincere regret at their disrespectful conduct towards the Government and its envoys;

2°. the solemn assurance that henceforward the Government of the princes should implicitly obey the orders of the Govenor-General, as ruling the whole of the Dutch Indies, of which Lombock is a part—especially his orders regarding the import and export of war material and the use of steamers manned either partly or entirely by Europeans;

3°. the immediate surrender of Anak Agoeng Madé, so that he might be banished to some other island, he being looked upon as the instigator of the present evils;

4°. the acceptance of the mediation of the Resident to put an end to the unsettled state of the island and the promise to abide by the regulations, which on enquiry, the Resident, shall find it necessary to impose.

On the 9th June the Resident acquitted himself of his mission.

At an interview with the prince's two sons they were informed of the contents of the memorandum and were given three days for reflection, with the additional warning, that, if they did not comply with the demands set forth, hostilities would be proclaimed. On the 11th June a request for indefinite postponement was promptly refused by the Resident, persuaded as he was, that they only wanted to shilly-shally, and at the same time he gave them clearly to understand that if a speedy answer were not received, it would be considered equivalent to a refusal to comply with the demands made.

The three days allowed for reflection having been permitted to go by without any steps being taken, the Resident returned to Bulèleng on the 13 June, having failed in his mission.

Orders were given by the Governor-General for an expedition to start from Surabaya on the 3rd July.

At the same time more stringent regulations were issued regarding the import and export of war materials to Lombock.

Notice of the new regulations was at once given to the Naval authorities in Lombock waters and, in addition to guarding against the conveyance of auxiliary troops from Bali to Lombock, they were to prevent the probable flight of Anak Agoeng Madé from Lombock.

Controller Liefrinck was despatched to the East coast of Lombock to superintend the distribution of rice to the starving population. He was further empowered to tell the Sassaks of the decision taken by the Indian Government to come to their assistance and put an end to their grievances and sufferings.

European soldier.

Besides this the Resident was instructed to inform the princes of Bali and Lombock of our decision; as a matter of precaution a corps of observation was to be stationed at Bulèleng. It was to be composed of a mixed company of infantry, a section of mountain artillery, besides some engineers and auxiliary troops, with an eye to contingencies, which might possibly arise at Bali itself.

And "last but not least," three ships belonging to the auxiliary squadron: the "*Prins Hendrik*," the "*Koningin Emma*" and the "*Tromp*," were attached to the expedition, as well as two belonging to the Indian military marine: the "*Sumatra*" and the "*Borneo*."

The sword must now solve the problem!

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The decision of the Governor-General has excited criticism here and there.

The question has been raised as to the alleged motives and the expediency of sending out an expedition; fear is expressed that we are not strong enough; that the unwholesome climate will decimate our men; that a large enough number of troops could not be left behind for possible emergencies; even our just "*right*" has been denied.

Concerning the first comment, we think that the foregoing disclosures are sufficient proofs of the urgency of the case and that if the Government is to be reproached at all, it is with having been *too* cautious and *too* dilatory, to the prejudice of our prestige and that of the suffering population, whereas, the only persons, who have derived any distinct advantage from this great caution, have been the Lombock princes, to whom time has been afforded to equip themselves!

As to the other questions which were raised in our Senate on the 8th June, it strikes us that *fear* occupies too prominent a place, and,

fear is a bad counsellor. Where would be the strength and greatness of our colonies, if in olden times our military authorities and our rulers had allowed themselves to be guided by "*Fear?*"

As to the rest we think we cannot do better than repeat the answer given by the colonial Minister:

Native trumpeter.

"Nobody can foresee the future, the result of every expedition is uncertain. But what can be done to ensure its success *shall* be done.

Considerable forces are available for the expedition and a large reserve force is prepared for any possible emergency. The health conditions of Lombock leave nothing to be desired. No comparison is admissible between this expedition and the one sent to Atcheen; here we have only to deal with a small island, the greater part of whose inhabitants are on our side and have besought our help.

Referring to our *right* to interfere, article VII—see above—of the treaty of 1843, does not prohibit *all* intervention, as the Minister's predecessor, Heer van Dedem, took care to inform the previous governor. No one can surely wish to allege that the misrule of the Sassaks, the original inhabitants of Lombock, is only a matter for *internal* legislation. Our suzerainty over a native state brings with it a responsibility of which we cannot divest ourselves. In British India too, it is an understood thing, that where abuse and misrule are found to exist, the Suzerain is bound to interfere, while the acknowledged position of the protected princes is like that of the self-governing princes in our dominion*."

This is certainly most just; for there can be no doubt that our moral obligations towards the people of our Archipelago must rank higher than the doubtful clause of a contract!

That obligation forbids our remaining passive spectators of the misery and oppression of a starving people on an island in the midst of our possessions!

The authority, which we are called upon to maintain there, cannot permit our dignity to be insulted with impunity, our claims to be ridiculed and our demands to be set at nought!

For our colonial existence depends upon the high standard we keep up towards thirty million subjects!

Truly, then, no expedition of recent years has been more justifiable!

Now we will see how the expedition was composed and follow it on its way!

* Here the minister appealed to the recently written work of William Lee-Warner entitled: "The Protected Princes of India," where in Chapter X "Obligations affecting internal legislation" there appears: "The right of intervention is not confined to the case of open rebellion or public disturbance. The subjects of the Native States are sometimes ready to endure gross oppression without calling attention to the fact by recourse to such violent measures. Where there is gross misrule, the right, or the duty, of interference arises, notwithstanding any pledges of unconcern or 'absolute rule' which treaties may contain."

## II.

## COMPOSITION AND DEPARTURE OF THE EXPEDITION.

A stirring and motley spectacle presents itself to the spectators gathered round about the inner harbour of Tandjong Priok on the last day of June 1894.

Projecting over the right hand side of the bridge are endless continuous iron girders, looking like a long archway, one side of which is lost to sight in the glistening waters of the harbour and hidden by the massive frames of the great ocean steamers lying alongside the basalt blocks of the quay.

Beneath this deep archway are dark shadows, driven there by the blinding rays of the sun, beating against the iron walls of the wharves and the basalt blocks covered with rails and pulleys.

In the sunlight is a whirlwind of colours ever changing and shifting-as in a giant kaleidoscope.

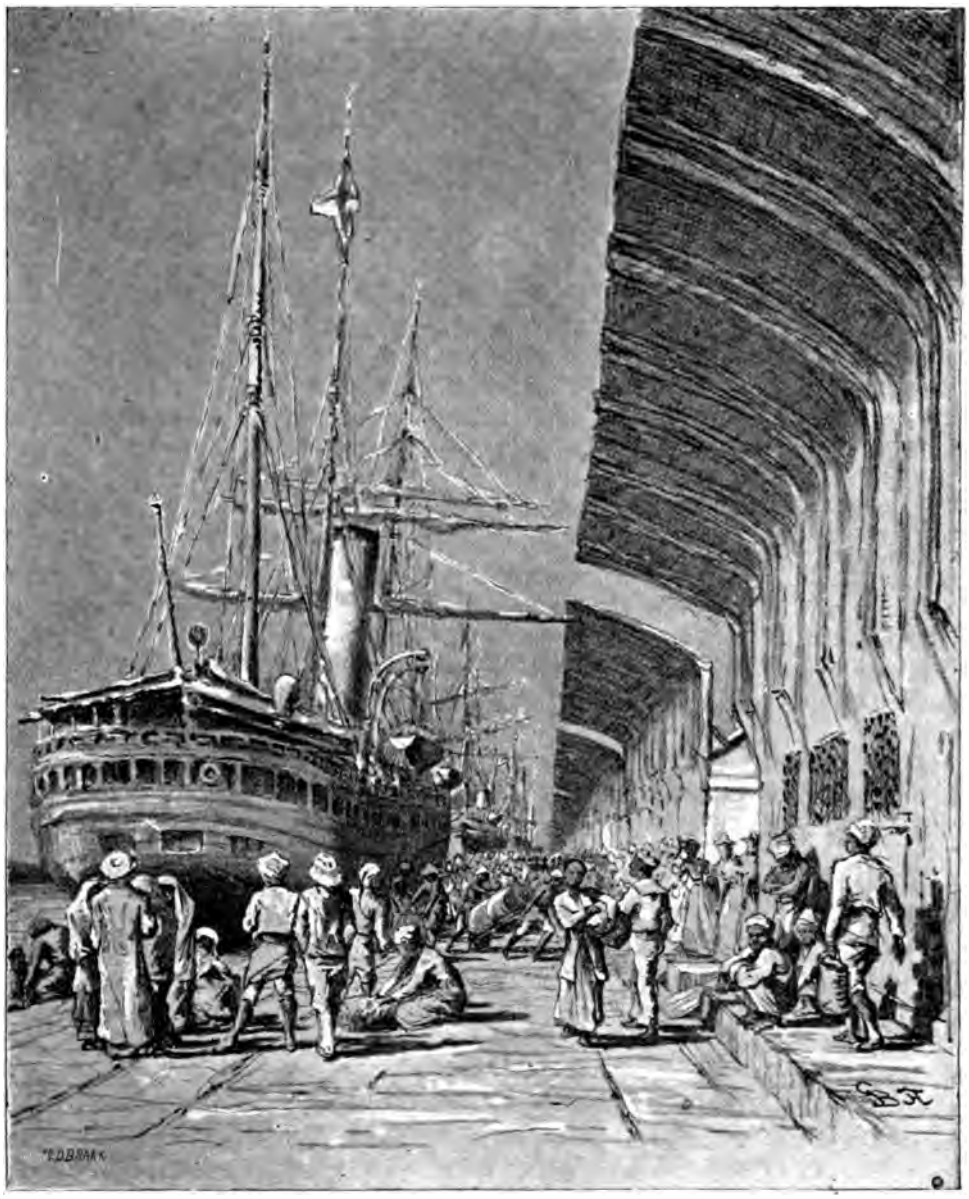
Here are groups of Europeans mostly dressed in white; there, natives in light coloured jackets, yonder, Chinese in long white or blue tunics; mixing amongst them, sailors in their undress uniforms, convicts in dark blue, coolies whose half-naked bodies display various shades of brown; further on a solitary yellow silk turban of some Musulman is distinguishable and rising high above the heads of a group of women, whose dark faces are partially concealed by bright coloured handkerchiefs, and in the distance the European ladies in their gay and fashionable gowns are walking in front of the shops on the raised pavements.

To the left of the quay a long row of floating palaces, the glistening portholes contrasting strongly with the dark colour of the hull and higher up still masts and riggings, flags and pennants enveloped in a flood of light. Beyond this majestic row of ships the waters of the spacious harbours sparkle in the sun; a steamer from Europe is slowly advancing to take her place alongside of the quay; a few white rowing boats are gliding about, their oars playfully catching the sun's rays or dipping simultaneously into the water without an effort, without a sound.

On the opposite side white arches stretching across piles of black diamonds are lost to sight amongst the nipa-palms which rise in profusion for miles along the coast of the far-reaching lagunes, in the midst

of which human science and ingenuity have created Tandjong Priok.

And high up above all this is the spotless blue sky, against which the silhouettes of Java's great volcanoes stand out in dark tints; rising far



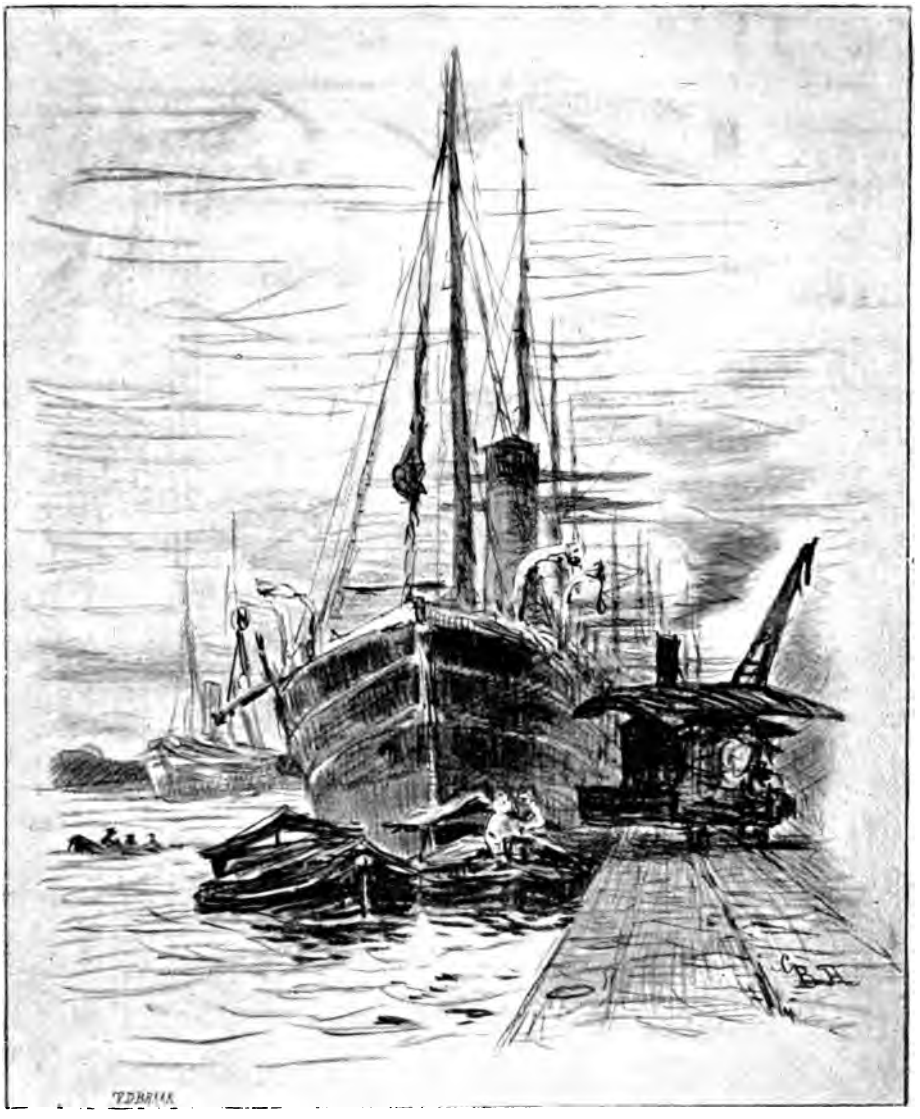
Embarking at Tandjong Priok.

above the southern horizon we have the Pangerango, the Gedeh and the Salak.

In the midst of all the confusion an unusually long train approaches

in stately fashion; it comes from Batavia and carries the Commander-in-chief and the second-in-command of the expedition with their respective staffs, accompanied by hundreds and hundreds of people.

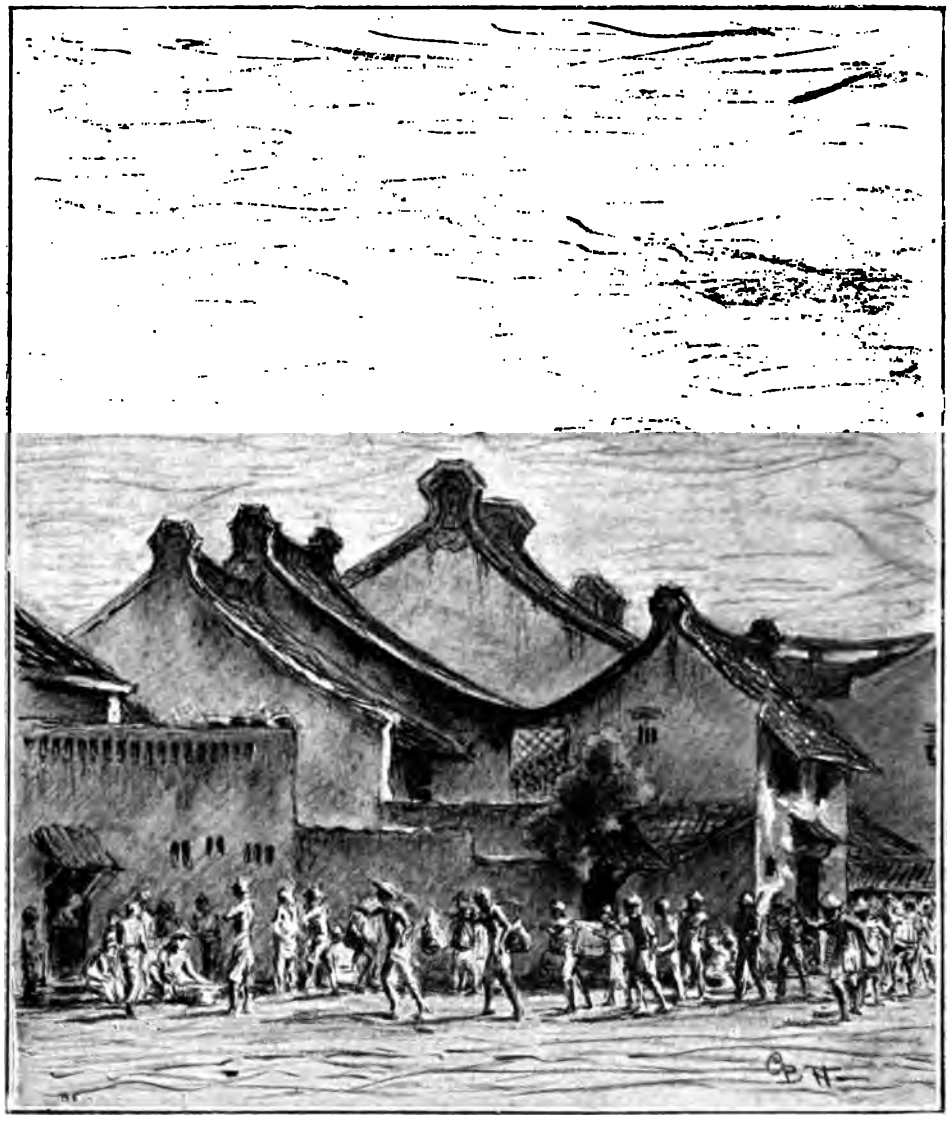
The station at Weltevreden had been crowded at half past three in



Loading at Tandjong Priok.

the afternoon—for it was from this point that the Commander-in-chief started on his momentous expedition. Various civil and military authorities, amongst whom, the commander of the army, members of the council, the head of the Internal Administration, the Resident of Batavia,

the Governor-General's Adjutant as proxy for His Excellency, were all assembled there to take leave of them and it was almost impossible to get near the officers, surrounded as they were by relations, friends and acquaintances. Both the national guard and the regimental bands had



Transport of military goods at Meester-Cornelis.

played in turns and when the hour for departure struck, all who had been able to secure tickets went with the train to Tandjong Priok. As soon as it stopped at Batavia a large concourse of people was already waiting in the carriages which had to be hitched on to the departing train.

This dense crowd renders it somewhat difficult to get on board the "*Maetsuycker*" on which the two native companies of the 9th battalion had embarked in the morning.

Finally they have succeeded and the whistle of the steamer gives the signal for departure; there is barely time to shake hands for the last time.... but the hawsers are unloosed and the steamer glides away. The band strikes up, a thundering hurrah ascends from the quay and echoes and re-echoes from the iron archway to the departing ship.

Handkerchiefs and helmets and officers' and soldiers' caps are waving away, fiery rays shoot forth from the big black eyes of the brave native soldiers and here and there a stray tear is seen glistening in the eyes of the officers, promising volumes for the future, and expressing more earnestly than words, how deserving these gallant men are to be entrusted with their country's honour.

The hearty chorus of cheers is taken up by all the boats as the steamer passes by and on the quay the broad stream of people keeps up with the ship, advancing slowly at first and then walking more hurriedly as the ship moves more rapidly and then with hastening footsteps to the point where the foundations of Tandjong Priok plunge into the sea of Java; all are desirous of exchanging farewells as long as possible, of watching that tiny speck growing less and less every minute and bearing away such a precious cargo.

Once more the band plays the national Anthem and ere the last sounds have died away the *Maetsuycker* is already out at sea on her way to an unknown future. Alas! what disasters and sorrows were hidden in it!

Accompanied by the remainder of the infantry from Batavia and Meester Cornelis the two European companies of the 9th battalion had left Weltevreden on the previous day—28 June—at 7.30A.M. Various officials, amongst them the commander of the army and General Vetter, and the bands of the national guard and of the regiments, together with a great mass of people had met them there also. Those about to leave took their seats in the carriages waiting, while the 10th and 11th battalions were posted outside the enclosure.

The train had steamed out of the station amidst loud cheering at 8A.M. Before embarking the men were taken to a shed at Tandjong Priok. There Colonel Kalff addressed them, pointing out to the soldiers what was expected of them and telling them that all eyes were directed upon them, not only here but even in their homes in Holland, whence Her Majesty the Queen was watching them with intense interest and pride!

After once more toasting the officers and the Resident's saying a few words to the soldiers in the name of the citizens, who had shown their sympathy by the distribution of various dainties, the embarkation began; one division after another crossed the gangway of the *Gouverneur-Generaal's Jacob*, the 3rd squadron of cavalry having gone on board at 6A.M.

Not less cheering had been the departure on that same morning of the two native companies of the 9th battalion; what a splendid collection

of men it was! what large numbers of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers were decorated with the medals for six or more years' service—some even wearing the Atcheen medal, not awarded since 1874!

Native soldier of the 9th battalion.

Lieutenant-colonel van Lawick van Pabst might well be proud of commanding such a body of men, for who would dare to oppose them in the open field?

Alas! even he himself was not proof against assassination. The different bands had contributed gay music, friendly hands had reached forth fragrant bouquets and amidst waving of hands and lusty cheers, the train steamed out of Weltevreden at 8A.M.; the 10th and 11th battalions present arms and salute the departing colours of the 9th; one more encouraging speech in Malay at Tandjong Priok from the commander of division, offerings of material sympathy from the citizens of Batavia and the men with all their hopes and illusions embark on the "*Maetsuycker*".

The same morning the pikol horses of the train had been embarked on the *Graaf v. Bijlandt* and the "*Prins Alexander*"; their embarkation however was not effected with as little trouble as that of the soldiers. The pikol is a curious beast: in size, it is a little larger than a donkey and somewhat smaller than a mule.... viewed from the front it looks like a calf, it is so narrow-chested; its back is clipped or covered with a saddle of white hair marking where the heavy loads have been carried; looked at from behind it resembles a deer in consequence of its bow legs; whilst viewed sideways it reminds one of a cow suffering from foot and mouth disease, so oddly do its bones project; on the whole it looks like a sheep.

As a colt in its golden youth it skipped about merrily by its dam's side until, even before losing its milk teeth a load was put on its poor little back! Almost from the day of its birth it seemed to move about with the great square wooden saddle, that has bent its back, and it looked old and wizened even in

its babyhood—though in reality such horses never attain any great age. The most useful are now being shipped off to Lombock; with melancholy-looking eyes and lowered heads, they gaze around; frightened at the bustle and confusion, they huddle close together like sheep. But no sooner is the first of these little animals expected to cross the gangway, than signs of life are evident and it begins to show its spirit and strength of character by positively refusing to put one leg before the other in order to accompany the soldiers to the seat of war!

The poor little beast has clambered over many a bamboo bridge in its endless journeys across hill and dale in the interior of Java; with great cunning it had avoided any little hidden hole and invariably reached the other side safe and sound, but to climb up such a curious wooden thing—that is something novel and nothing would induce him to attempt it!

At last one of the sailors, tired of the struggle and delay, clasps his sinewy arms round the body of the refractory pikol and carries it bodily on to the gangway, when all the others follow without any further trouble.

The next morning, 1st July, the rest of the artillery leave on the steamers *Graaf van Bijlandt* and the *Amboina* at 9.30 o'clock, the *Alexander* having started a few hours earlier for Samarang.

The roadstead of Samarang.

It is Sunday morning early, very early in fact; the roadstead of Samarang is enveloped in a mysterious calm; the sky is of a dark blue tint and the stars are still visible in all their splendour. The Southern Cross inclines to the West but has not yet quite disappeared, the sea is of a dark lead colour, just brightened up at intervals by the glistening animalcula clinging to the sides of the steamers.

The *Both*, the *Reael*, the *Coen*, the *Japara*, the *Generaal Pel* and the *Medan* belonging to the Royal steam-packet company and chartered for the transport of the troops are reposing quietly on the water like giant monsters and many small native boats are also discernible.

The look-out ship fires off its morning salvo, which resounds far and wide proclaiming the dawn of a new day. The morning mists slowly vanish, the water grows lighter, the outline of Moeria, Japara's great volcano becomes more distinct; a silvery streak tints the horizon of the North coast of Japara and to the South a pinky stream of light encircles the lofty summit of Merbaboe, raising its densely covered brow high above the surrounding hills; and beyond these the cone-shaped giants of Central Java, the Soembing and the Sindoro. Suddenly golden arrows shoot forth into the air from the East, the hitherto hidden mists appear resplendent in gorgeous rays of purple; a soft morning breeze steals over the waters and each little wavelet sends up a hymn of joy to the opening day.

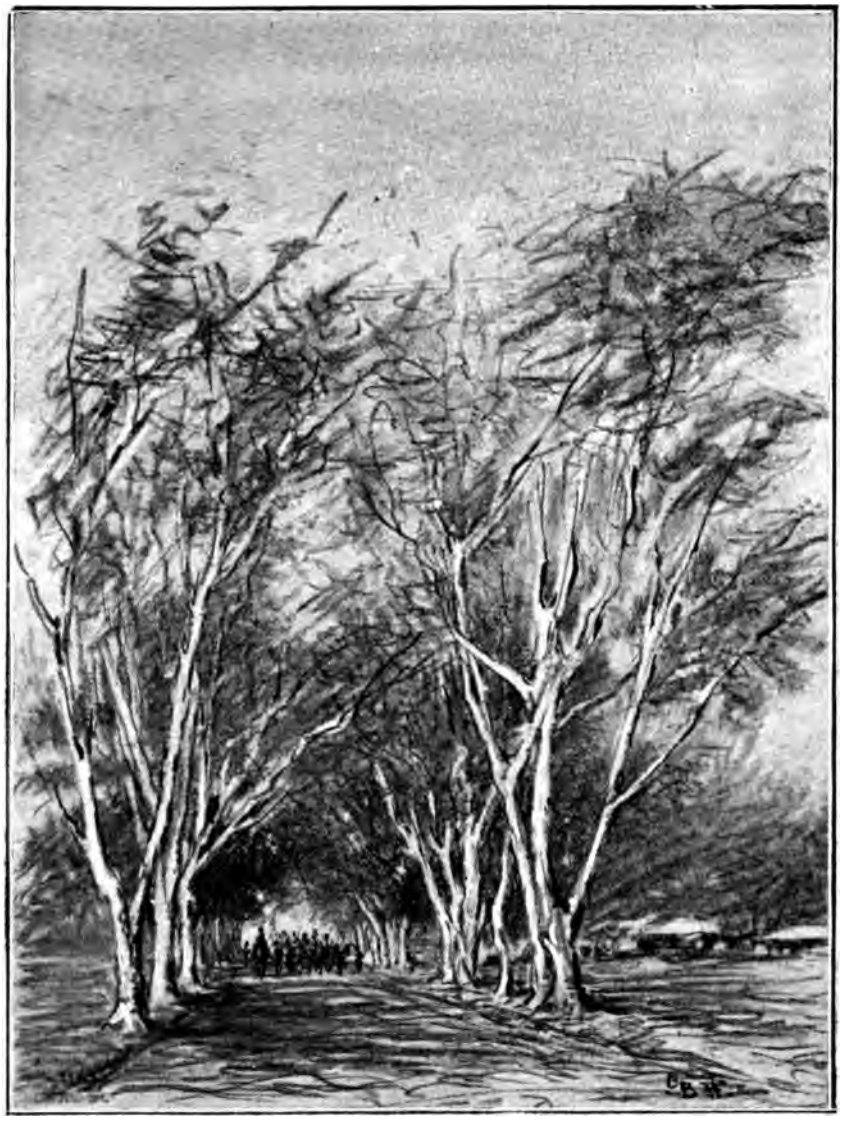
Man and beast alike awaken from their slumbers, the crew rise slowly from their resting places on the slanting sheds which shelter the cargo; in the distance you can hear the creaking and rattling of the gear whilst the stores and provisions are being embarked for Lombock.

And, hark! what is the noise we hear? It is the well-known sounds of the music of the 5th battalion and the national guard, who with an immense crowd together with the military and civil authorities, the officers of the national guard and even many ladies are accompanying at this early hour a section of the mountain artillery.

The troops are inspected by the local commander, lieutenant-colonel Munniks de Jongh; the resident steps forward with the commander of division, Colonel Segov, who speaks a few words of encouragement to the men; the commander of the national Guard, Major van Oosterzee of Atcheen fame, bids a hearty farewell in Malay to the native soldiers and all take their places in the boats, which are to be towed to the *Generaal Pel.*

Still greater was the excitement at the departure of the 6th battalion, composed of two European and two Amboynese companies, arriving from the garrison at Magelang. Europeans, Chinese, Javanese and Klings came pouring in on foot, in carriages or by tram; at 10.30 the train enters the station! the platform is crowded with the officers stationed at Samarang. As the soldiers come out of the station they fall into line and headed by the band of the national guard and followed by the multitude they march to "den Boom" where they form into a square; the officials and the members of the civil commission stand in the middle. Colonel Segov's address, spoken first in Dutch, then in Malay, is a powerful appeal to all the better feelings of the men, urging them to do their duty faithfully and carry out minutely every command, explaining to them that the success of the expedition depends upon obedience to orders even in the smallest detail. "You

have the honour and supremacy of Holland to uphold", he said, "and the flag, which you carry with you to Lombock, as an emblem of a soldier's integrity and fidelity, is yours,—to defend with your very last breath!"



Departure of the field-artillery.

Then the Resident spoke in the name of the civilians: "all the inhabitants of Samarang, yes of all our Indies follow you with interest and confidence, assured as they have been recently by your Commander-in-chief, that every man of you will do his duty!"

Shortly after this they embark; as they leave the harbour the Com-

mander of the 6th battalion, Major van Bijlevelt, stands bare-headed on the poop of the little boat, looking towards the shore at his friends and acquaintances; the band strikes up the national anthem: "Wien Neerlandsch bloed" and the thousands of spectators bare their heads.

Long after the cheers have died away and the sounds of music are no longer audible, we can still see that brave officer standing on the same spot, waving his cap as a last farewell!

Had he a presentiment of the disaster which was to overtake him?

The Resident, colonel Segov and the other officials who had escorted the troops to the steamers "*Both*" and "*Reael*" return without delay, to be ready to receive the 10th company of field-artillery who were to arrive by special train from Ambarawa at 2.15 P.M.

When witnessing the embarkation of the artillery horses one was able to mark the striking contrast between these fine animals and the Javanese pikol; they were undoubtedly small but they had no painfully prominent bones or unkempt coats, being in good condition and well-groomed. The eyes are not sad and hollow, they sparkle and gleam round enquiringly; when they refuse to cross the gangway they do not stretch out their legs like bars of iron, but prance and kick about. A little pat on the neck, a kind word from the master soon pacifies the fiery little animal and where his master walks first and encourages him to follow, he does not hesitate long.

The embarkation of the 7th battalion, consisting of two European and 2 Madurese companies, takes place the following morning—2 July—at the same time and in the same order as that of the 6th. Colonel Segov seized the opportunity to remind the soldiers of this battalion of the famous victory won by the 7th 44 years ago against the same enemy, the Balinese of Djagaraga and how their triumphant colours had been decorated with the Military Order of William. Faithful to such a record he felt convinced that the 7th battalion would ever remain conspicuous for their valour!

The harbour presented a gay and festive sight with all the steamers filled with soldiers and flying the national tricolor, while all the other vessels in addition to their own national flags had hoisted the signal: "Hearty success, pleasant voyage!" There was but a slight ripple on the smooth surface of the waters when all these mighty ocean steamers were massed together: the "*Both*" carrying the staff with two companies of the 6th battalion; the *Reael* with the two remaining companies of the same battalion; the *Coen* with the staff and two companies of the 7th battalion, the *Japara* with the other two companies; the *Generaal Pel* with the mountain artillery, the horses and mules; the *Alexander* with the pikols and some of the convicts, the remainder being divided amongst the other ships.

The *Medan* steamed off early this morning with the field-artillery and the horses; the *Reael* is just preparing to start; some of the other

boats are receiving the last visit of the officials and various officers and ladies, amongst the latter the wife and daughter of Generaal van Ham. Mejuffrouw van Ham has come provided with endless little "button-holes," which she attaches to the coats of the officers.

By the time they put out to sea the short-lived coolness and the lovely tints of the early morning have long since made way for intense heat and the full glare of midday. The soft gray blue sky has grown

Arrival of the 7th battalion at its place of embarkation at Samarang.

darker; the silvery shimmer of the sea is transformed to sombre indigo; the shadows have disappeared beneath the blinding sun, which shoots forth from on high those fiery rays, which are multiplied tenfold by reflection on the ships and on the water.

The hills of the interior have turned from deep dark blue to a greeny gray and the outlines are no longer discernible; the clumps of cocoa-nut trees along the coast are of darker shades, one might say colourless; the surf has drawn a long white margin, where the waves have dashed against the strand or spent their foam along the swampy shore.

The awnings have long since been spread on the quarter-decks of the

steamers and there is only a subdued light; now and then the breeze lifts one of the smaller awnings, admitting a blaze of light and the officers congregated there feel as though suddenly a furnace door had been opened. But to this they have long since grown accustomed and are all chatting away cosily, the card-tables are brought forward and the time is spent as pleasantly as possible and every soldier has received his dram before proceeding to his midday meal. The men had also

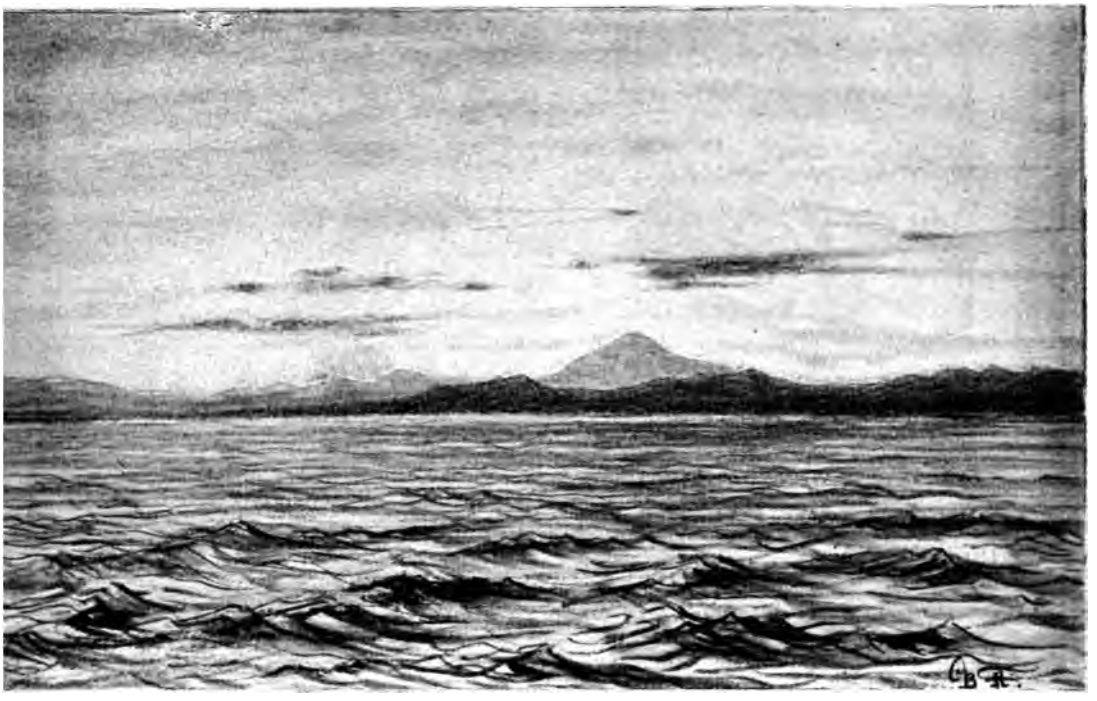
A game at Keplek.

been turning their time on board to account and had successfully appropriated a nice roomy space for themselves, their rifles and their knapsacks from amidst the chaos of cases and baskets and animals.

Wherever the awnings have cast their shadows, groups of men have thrown themselves down to rest, many wearing but little covering, except the blue striped "sarong" (cloth) loosely fastened around their loins; the Europeans are gossiping with the sailors or talking over the busy goings-on of the last few days; the natives settle themselves down on little mats to have a game at "keplek", (a favorite Chinese game at

cards) which is prohibited in the barracks excepting on Sundays and holidays; others follow Nature's lead and just keep quiet, waiting for the sun to set and give them a little fresh air.

Although the rapid movement of the steamer produces a slight breeze, still it continues to be stifling hot until the western horizon becomes resplendent with golden rays and purple ripples flit along the water's surface. Above the South west coast of Java—behind the "Doodkisten" (coffins)—this is the name of the Rembang promontory—little groups of dark clouds, formed by the heat absorbed from the earth during the day, stand out against the radiant sky.



Along the coast of Java.

This glorious display of colours, admired by all on deck, is but of short duration; before long the sun is obscured by a cloud; suddenly the golden rays have disappeared; darkness has fallen o'er the scene.

This is the hour when the men sing songs walking up and down the deck, where they can find room and when all enjoy the soft evening breeze.

Side by side they stand on the forecastle, gazing at the sea and watching the swell of the waves.

The weird sound of the beating waves against the ports alternated with the blowing of signals; the buzz of hundreds of voices is mixed with the flapping of the sails and awnings and the noise of the machinery.

The moon is not yet visible and total darkness envelops the ship; a

darkness, almost as complete as that, which surrounds the fate of those brave men she carries!

The soldiers hunt around for a nook, where they can lay down their mats and pillows and take rest beneath the black and white striped quilts, which are to protect them against the chill night air. After all are settled down for the night, not even the smallest space is visible amongst the long rows of arms and legs and heads which are stretched out on deck.

The lights have all been put out; only the glimmer of the pale electric lamp is left and it throws an odd fantastic glare over this strange multitude at rest!

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"Since yesterday afternoon the steamer *Gouverneur-Generaal's Jacob* has been lying in the harbour at Surabaya, having on board two European companies of the 9th battalion of infantry and half the cavalry squadron from Batavia.

"To-morrow the *Graaf van Bijlandt* and the *Amboina* are expected direct from Batavia, as well as the seven other ships from Samarang.

"The whole fleet will leave simultaneously for Ampenan. The embarkation at Surabaya will take place at 11.45A.M. The convicts will go on board in pirogues, as soon as the *Amboina* and *Bijlandt* arrive in port. The officers' horses will also be shipped immediately.

"The engineer troops arrive from Malang by the 10.12A.M. train and they start by the 10.45A.M. train for the 'Oedjong.'

"The artillery and those belonging to the medical service at Surabaya will be paraded near Modderlust at 11 o'clock."

This announcement was to be read in the Surabaya newspapers of the 2nd July.

Early in the morning of 3rd July—7A.M.—the civil and military authorities reached the "Oedjong" to pay their respects to the Commander-in-chief and his staff on board the "*Maetsuijcker.*"

Meanwhile it was decided that the *Maetsuijcker* with the generals would not come into the harbour, but steer straight for Ampenan in order to deliver the ultimatum to the prince of Lombock; there only remained to be added to it the time, which would be allowed for finally accepting the conditions and this was to be filled in when they reached the harbour at Ampenan.

To the four previous articles were added the following:

5° the abdication of the reigning prince in favour of the lawful heir to the throne;

6° declaration of willingness to conclude a new political treaty in accordance with the wishes of the governor-general;

7° payment of the expenses of the campaign;

and to article 1°, which demanded an "expression of regret," it was further added that this was to be expressed verbally to the governor-

general through an embassy composed according to the desire of the commander-in-chief of the expedition.

At the appointed hour the engineers arrived; they were met at the station by the lieutenant-colonel, and inspector militairy commander and the local adjutant and several officers of the national guard.

They continued their journey to the Oedjong in the tram.

Arrived here at 11.15A.M. they found the artillery with the hospital staff ready waiting and surrounded by thousands and thousands of Surabaya townsfolk.

The *Maetsuycker* (at night) carrying over the ultimatum.

The troops were drawn up and inspected in front of "Modderlust." The commander of division wished them all a hearty farewell.

The bands of the 13th battalion, the national guard and the "barisan" strike up. Major Rost van Tonningen, commander of the expeditionary artillery, expresses his thanks for the great evidences of sympathy and encouragement; they tarry one moment more to say good-bye..... the trumpets give the signal for departure. The band of the 13th battalion advances at the head of the troops to the point of embarkation; here again the officers and soldiers receive proofs of the people's goodwill and kindly interest.....

The final signal is given..... the band of the 13th plays the national anthem and once more the departing ones are greeted with enthusiastic

cheers, rising up from thousands of throats and repeated again and again!

By 12.15 all have started!

But in the harbour we witness another impressive ceremony. Amongst the authorities who had escorted the departing troops, was a deputation from the barisan, * come expressly from Bangkalan to do them honour. The deputation consisted of the commander of the corps, lieutenant-colonel Raden Majang Koro, the adjutant-lieutenant and the 4 captains, accompanied by the band.

Pirogues along the quay at Soerabaya.

He was a splendid man, this Majang Koro, a living illustration of how even in a country, like Madura swarming with princes, a simple citizen can make his mark. He had entered the Indian army as a common soldier, when scarcely sixteen years old and already the following year in the campaign against Bali, he was rewarded with the bronze medal for his courage and loyalty. He received the silver medal for courage and zeal for his conduct during the hostilities in Palembang 1851—1852; and for his conduct during the war in the Western division of Borneo in 1853 and 1854 he received an honorable mention. In 1859 he left the army, having attained the rank of sergeant—but it was only that he might place his services at the disposal of the barisan.

* Native infantry troops from Madura.

He soon rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and by royal decree of 6 Oct. 1874 he was created knight of the Military Order of William, 4th class, and by that of March 1877, (n°. 5) presented with a sword of honour, bearing the inscription: "Royal recognition of valour displayed;" it cannot therefore be said that it was as courtier in the "dalems" of Madura that he had earned all these distinctions!

It is now about twenty years ago. In the spacious audience room open on three sides, the sultan of Bangkalan takes his share in an ever-to-be-remembered and touching ceremony. Within his "Kraton," surrounded by its seven high walls, sits the deaf old prince on his golden throne in the midst of his numerous courtiers.

His venerable head is hidden by a tightly drawn dark handkerchief; the collar and the front of his long black coat are ornamented with gold trimmings; his kris,* studded with large diamonds and precious stones flashes from his girdle; a costly sarong covers his legs. In front of him is the battalion of his barisan, 500 strong, and they are to start under command of Major Majang Koro for Atcheen, where side by side with the Indian army they will prove their loyalty to Holland and to Holland's king. Every one of those five hundred men stepped forward in turn, first the officers, then the soldiers, and all crept on their knees towards their sovereign, took his foot between their hands and rubbed their heads against it. Then the old ruler laid his hand on the head of each one of his children and spoke to each a word of friendly advice and encouragement.

In this wise did those children of the soil, who had practised musketry and had been drilled into soldiers in their spare hours, receive the paternal blessing of their sovereign!

Thus did the prince cheer the hearts of those who were leaving wife and children, buffaloes and rice crops, to go far away over the sea to fight for the glory of Holland!

And Majang Koro, their commander, proved himself on the battlefield in the first Atcheen campaign, where he won all his well-earned honours by his bravery and loyalty, and well-deserving trust now placed in him by his sovereign and our Indian Government.

Even this is not a complete history of the long and distinguished career of this most faithful servant of our Indian Government!

At Kamal, on the south west coast, opposite Surabaya, the proud "Pangeran" Adi Negoro, veteran of the Bali war and of princely blood, had joined the "barisan" deputation.

The *Coen* and the *Japara* on which the Madurese soldiers of the 7th battalion had embarked were now visited by this deputation. In words coming straight from his heart, the pangeran addresses his fellow-countrymen, he exhorts them to remain true to the standard, which had witnessed so many brilliant victories and never to sully the name of Madurese! At the conclusion of his speech, the soldiers throw themselves at his feet in emotion and clasp his knees and kiss his foot!

* Longer than a dagger not so long as a sword.

Meanwhile Majang Koro has kept in the background and has not spoken a word—but as soon as the men perceive the old, beloved chief their enthusiasm knows no bound and all vie with one another in showing marks of affection and respect.

The hour for departure has been fixed for 5.30 P.M.

At the appointed time the anchor is lifted; but it is just a little too soon, for the ship sticks fast in the mud. Fortunately, she was soon released by the spring tide.

Having however got outside the harbour, the anchor is again dropped and the ship does not actually start until the following morning at five—as it was considered wiser not to set out as darkness was falling.

Now is our opportunity, while all the troops are present, to see how the expeditionary force is composed.

## ORDER OF BATTLE.

HEADQUARTERS:

| | |
|---|---|
| Commander-in-chief: | Major-General J. A. Vetter. |
| Aide-de-camp: | 1st Lieutenant of Infantry H. Kotting. |
| Second in command: | Major-General P. P. H. van Ham. |
| Aide-de-camp: | Captain P. Wiersma of the Infantry. |

Total: 4 officers, 4 officers' horses and 12 servants.

STAFF:

| | |
|---|---|
| Chief of the staff: | Major A. J. Hamerster of the General Staff. |
| Assistants: | Captain H. P. Willemstijn of the General Staff. |
| ,, | ,, Van Bommel van Vloten of the Infantry. |
| ,, | 1st Lieutenant W. R. de Greve of the Engineers. |
| Clerks: | 3 non-commissioned officers. |
| Orderlies: | 4 ,, ,, |

Total: 4 officers, 5 European and 2 native subordinate officers, 3 officers' and 2 troop-horses, 10 attendants and 8 convicts.

TOPOGRAPHICAL DEPARTMENT:

W. H. A. van der Zwaan, 1st Lieutenant of Infantry.
Surveyors: 2 non-commissioned officers.

Total: 1 officer, 2 European non-commissioned officers, 2 officers' horses and 4 convicts.

ARTILLERY STAFF:

| | |
|---|---|
| Chief: | Major M. B. Rost van Tonningen. |
| Adjutant: | 1st Lieutenant A. van den Bovenkamp. |
| Clerk: | 1 non-commissioned officer. |

Total: 2 officers, 1 European non-commissioned officer, 2 officers' horses and 5 attendants.

COMMISSARIAT DEPARTMENT:
Head: Major L. C. van Berg.
Assistant: Captain N. J. van den Bent.
Quatermaster: Captain C. F. Julius.
Quartermaster: 1st Lieutenant F. A. von Balluseck.
Clerks: 2 non-commissioned officers.

Total: 4 officers, 2 European non-commissioned officers, 2 officers' horses, 10 attendants and 4 convicts.

MEDICAL STAFF:
Head: Health officer of 2nd class C. J. de Freijtag.
Veterinary surgeon of 2nd class: H. J. Tromp de Haas.
Clerk: 1 non-commissioned officer and 1 native carrier.

Total: 2 officers, 1 European and 1 native non-commissioned officer, 1 officer's horse and 5 attendants.

CIVIL STAFF:
Military Auditor: Mr. J. Klein.
Parson: Ds. C. Rogge.
Almoner: Pastoor F. J. A. Voogel.
Panghoeloe: Mas Bey Loema Widaja.
Chief of the field-post: J. W. Palmer van den Broek.
Clerks: 2 subalterns and 18 servants.

*INFANTRY.*

6TH. BATTALION:
Commander: Lieutenant-Coloned H. F. C. van Bylevelt.
Adjutant: Lieutenant G. W. Honigh.
Staff clerks.
2 European companies.
2 Amboynese companies.

In all: 19 officers, 332 European and 257 Amboynese soldiers, 2 officers' horses, 26 servants, 4 "mandoors" and 108 convicts.

ADMINISTRATION: Sub-lieutenant quartermaster H. G. C. Denis.
Clerk: 1 subaltern.
2 servants and 2 convicts.

AMBULANCE: 1 Health officer.
Hospital staff: 4 European and 3 native soldiers.
2 servants, 3 mandoors and 76 convicts.

Total of 6th Battalion: 21 officers, 337 European, 257 Amboynese and 3 native soldiers, 2 officers' horses, 30 servants, 7 "mandoors" and 186 convicts.

7TH. BATTALION:
Commanding: Major A. A. van Blommestein.

Adjutant: Lieutenant O. L. Kalfsterman.
Staff clerks.
2 European companies.
2 Madurese companies.

In all: 18 officers, 333 European and 242 native soldiers, 2 officers' horses, 26 servants, 4 "mandoors" and 108 convicts.

ADMINISTRATION: Lieutenant Quartermaster W. L. Kraal.
Clerk: one subaltern.
2 servants and 2 convicts.

AMBULANCE: 1 Health officer.
Hospital staff: 4 European and 3 native soldiers.
2 servants, 3 "mandoors", and 76 convicts.

Total of 7th battalion: 20 officers, 338 European and 245 native soldiers, 2 officers' horses, 30 servants, 7 "mandoors" and 186 convicts.

9TH. BATTALION:
In command: Lieutenant-Colonel P. van Lawick van Pabst.
Adjutant: Lieutenant J. Hildering.
Staff clerks.
2 European companies.
2 Javanese companies.

In all: 17 officers, 333 European and 242 native soldiers, 2 officers' horses, 26 servants, 4 "mandoors" and 108 convicts.

ADMINISTRATION: Sub-lieutenant Quartermaster H. K. A. Hamakers.
Clerk: 1 subaltern.
2 servants, 2 convicts.

AMBULANCE: 1 Health officer.
Hospital staff: 4 European and 3 native soldiers.
2 servants, 3 "mandoors" and 76 convicts.

Total of 9th battalion: 19 officers, 338 European and 245 native soldiers, 2 officers' horses, 30 servants, 7 "mandoors" and 186 convicts.

*CAVALRY.*

HALF THE 3RD. FIELD SQUADRON:
In command: Captain C. C. Raaijmakers.
Besides, 2 officers, 42 European and 36 native soldiers.
3 officers' and 64 troop-horses and 7 servants.
1 "mandoor" and 24 convicts.

Total of the Cavalry: 3 officers, 42 European and 36 native soldiers, 2 officers' horses and 64 troop-horses, 7 servants, 1 "mandoor" and 24 convicts.

*ARTILLERY.*

FIELD-ARTILLERY:
10th Company: In command: Captain J. J. Temminck, with
2 officers, 33 European and 12 native soldiers.
3 officers horses, 33 troop-horses.
4 7c.M.A. guns.

General Major VAN HAM.

MOUNTAIN-ARTILLERY:
5th Company: Commanded by Captain G. C. Manders, with
2 officers, 37 European and 28 native soldiers.
3 officers' horses, 9 troop-horses and 29 mules.
4 7c.M.A. guns.

GARRISON-ARTILLERY:
In command: Lieutenant J. J. Hemmes,
13 European and 14 native soldiers.
1 officers' horse, 12 troop-horses and 2 mules.
4 cohorn-mortars.

PARK AND RESERVE:
2 officers, 40 European and 46 native soldiers.
2 officers' horses, 13 troop-horses and 7 mules.
2 12c.M.A. guns and 2 20c.M. mortars.

Total of the Artillery: 9 officers, 123 European and 100 native soldiers, 9 officers' horses and 67 troop-horses, 37 mules, 23 servants, 2 "mandoors" and 44 convicts.

*ENGINEERS.*

DETACHMENT OF ENGINEERS:
Commanded by: Capt. E. Ruempol, with
2 officers, 30 European and 30 native soldiers.
1 officer's horse, 7 servants.
2 "mandoors" and 40 convicts.

SIGNAL DETACHMENT AND PARK:
26 European and 3 native soldiers.
1 servant and 14 convicts.

Total: 3 officers, 56 European and 33 native soldiers, 1 officer's horse, 8 servants, 2 "mandoors" and 54 convicts.

ADMINISTRATION, composite troops (Cavalry, Artillery and Engineers).
Sub-lieutenant Quartermaster E. F. Th. M. Bovens.
1 adjutant Quartermaster.
Clerks: 2 subalterns.
3 servants and 2 convicts.

In all: 1 officer, 3 European soldiers, 3 servants and 2 convicts.

AMBULANCE, (Cavalry, Artillery and Engineers).
1 Surgeon.
Hospital staff: 4 European and 3 native soldiers.
2 servants, 3 mandoors, and 76 convicts.

In all: 1 officer, 4 European and 3 native soldiers, 2 servants, 3 "mandoors" and 76 convicts.

*ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES.*

FIELD HOSPITAL.
1 Adjutant-sub-lieutenant-Quartermaster.
Clerks: 2 subalterns.
1 servant.

CENTRAL STORES:
Head: Captain Quartermaster M. N. Beets.
1 Sergeant-Major-Quartermaster.
Clerks: 2 subalterns.
3 servants.

TRANSPORT STORES:
1 Adjutant.
Clerk: 1 subaltern.
1 servant.

VICTUALLING:
1 Captain Quartermaster.
Clerk: 1 subaltern.
2 servants.

SICK TRANSPORT SHIP:
1 Adjutant.
Clerk: 1 subaltern.
1 servant.

Total of Military Administration: 2 officers, 11 European soldiers, 8 servants.

*MEDICAL STAFF.*

FIELD HOSPITAL
Head: Surgeon 1st class J. Kunert and
4 Surgeons.
1 Military Apothecary 2nd class, Ferguson,
23 European and 12 native soldiers.
14 servants, 2 "mandoors" and 48 convicts.

Total of Medical Staff: 6 officers, 23 European, and 12 native soldiers, 14 servants, 2 "mandoors" and 48 convicts.

In command: Captain P. G. Schmidhamer, and
1 officer of Infantry and 1 officer of Artillery.
24 European and 5 native soldiers, 2 officers' horses.
7 servants, 27 "mandoors," 742 convicts.
55 carts, 120 cart- and pikol horses.

TWO AMBULANCES: 2 Health officers.
Hospital staff: 8 European and 6 native soldiers.
7 servants, 6 "mandoors" and 152 convicts.

ADMINISTRATION: 1 Adjutant.
Clerk: 1 subaltern.
1 servant, 2 convicts.

Total of: 5 officers, 54 European and 11 native soldiers, 2 officers' horses, 15 servants, 33 "mandoors," 896 convicts, 120 cart- and 100 pikol horses.

The total strength of the expedition was:
107 officers, 1320 European and 948 native soldiers, 386 horses, 37 mules, 216 servants, 64 "mandoors" and 1718 convicts, besides the civil staff above mentioned.

What cannot fail to strike one especially in the composition of this expedition is the extraordinary care bestowed upon the transport and supply branches.

The greater portion of our readers being no doubt unacquainted with the various tasks performed by the convicts, will be somewhat astonished at the large number included, but we will show how the Transport corps is constituted; it will then be easier to understand the reason of this inevitable accompaniment attached to every military undertaking in our colonies.

As a preliminary, let us remark, that, strange though it be, there is no regular Transport in the composition of the Indian army, so that every time an expedition is planned, the Transport must be formed anew, usually consisting of convicts, and in exceptional instances of free coolies, pikol horses, carts or waggons.

That serious difficulties should ensue is but natural; it is only needful to notice the considerable loss of time and energy which every expedition causes, not to mention the very palpable fact that all previous experience and practices in other expeditions has been quite wasted.

For this expedition the Transport was divided into that which formed integral part of the various arms, what may be called the Permanent or Regimental Transport, and that which was not so attached, but was temporarily affected to the use of bodies of troops, as occasion required and thus supplemented the first-named, and may be called the Provisional or General Transport.

The supervision of the means of transport forming the Permanent Transport Service was entrusted to the commanders of the troops, to whom they were attached.

The rest were under the orders of the officer in command of the General Transport, Captain Schmidhamer of the Infantry; and he took his orders direct from the chief of the staff of the expedition.

COMPOSITION OF THE PERMANENT TRANSPORT:

Attached to the General Staff: 8 convicts for the transport of the office equipment and to cut grass for the horses.
„ to the 6th battalion of Infantry: 4 "mandoors" and 108 convicts, viz., 16 for each company to carry the ammunition, 8 to carry the kitchen utensils and 3 to carry the pioneer equipenent.
„ to the 7th battalion of Infantry: 4 "mandoors" and 108 convicts, like for 6th.
„ „ „ 9th „ „ 4 „ „ 108 „ id.

For the Cavalry: 1 mandoor and 24 convicts, viz.: 4 to carry kitchen utensils and 20 to cut the grass.
„ the Artillery: 2 mandoors and 44 convicts, viz.: 12 to carry kitchen utensils and 32 to cut the grass.
„ the Engineers: 2 mandoors and 54 convicts, viz.: 6 to carry the boilers. 34 for the reserve equipment and 14 for the signal brigade.
„ Topographical staff: 4 convicts.
„ Military Administration: (ordonance) 4 convicts to carry office equipment.
„ „ „ with the : 10 convicts, viz.: 2 for each one of the archives of the different corps.
„ Medical staff: 1 Field hospital, 2 mandoors and 48 convicts.
6 Field ambulances, 18 mandoors and 456 convicts, viz.: for each field ambulance (consisting of 1 medicine- and 1 bandage chest, 15 tandoes and 2 improvised field-stretchers) 4 to carry the medicine chest, 4 to carry the bandage chest, 4 for every tandoe or improvised stretcher.

COMPOSITION OF THE PROVISIONAL TRANSPORT CORPS:

27 mandoors and 742 convicts to look after pikol horses and cart-horses, for transport of victuals, to keep clean and clear away the ground, to replace sick, wounded, etc.

Total: 64 mandoors, 1718 convicts.

To the Provisional Transport there further belonged 55 two-horsed waggons, 120 draught-horses and 100 pack-horses.

We may look upon the addition of these horses and carts to the expedition as a great advance in the right direction.

May it prove the first step in a resolution to have a *properly organized transport service even in times of peace*, for it is one of the primary requirements in the oft recurring expeditions of our Indian army.

No less trouble was taken with the reinforcements than had been shown in the composition of the expedition.

The European and Javanese troops were to be reinforced by the 13th battalion, stationed at Surabaya and the Madurese and Amboynese were to be reinforced from Central Java. The 13th battalion was to be maintained at its full strength from Batavia, while all those men who were not fit for service or whose service was less than six months were to be replaced by substitutes.

So that of the expeditionary battalions the 9th would be entirely replenished from Surabaya, and the 6th and 7th in so far as the European element was concerned.

On the 5th July a couple of hundred soldiers arrived here from Batavia on board the *Carpentier*.

The 4th of July has dawned, the anchor is weighed and away steams the fleet, following the line of the coast of Madura for about eight miles.

Madura is a peculiar country! Our thoughts are bent in a different direction just now, so we must content ourselves with a cursory glance as we pass by.

In many respects it reminds one of the Java of olden days, when the high road from Daendels was the only means of communication, and all the dessas and villages, not touching it, lay lost as it were in the broad valleys between the volcanoes; when Bantam and Cheribon, as Solo and Djocja now do, possessed their own princes, and the regents of Bandong, Samarang, and Surabaya, not to mention others, lived in princely splendour.

The wide post-road runs between Kamal on the south-west coast through Bangkallan and Pemakassan to Soemenap, thus connecting the three princely seats of the former Madurese rulers, now only regents.

In spite of the new form of government the simple inhabitants of the bamboo cottages still look up with the greatest reverence to the descendants of their former kings, and these latter, like their ancestors, continue to be preceded on the high way by numerous attendants, richly arrayed and carrying magnificent krisses and lances, and richly-inlaid "sirih" and "bedak" boxes.

When the panembahan goes to pay a visit to the Resident the people place themselves, in two rows in front of the palace, to do homage to the visitor.

The regent is preceded and followed by lancers on horseback: he himself is seated in a gorgeous state carriage, drawn by six white horses and the crowd bends low as he passes; the scarlet livery of the outriders forms a striking contrast to the green palm trees, and the tall white pillars of the residence of the present representative of the Netherlands.

Now there arises a new island on the horizon! . . . . . Bali! . . . . .

What crowds of recollections it brings back; what famous names it recalls to our memory: van der Wijck, de Brauw, Michiels, van Swieten! What fierce struggles in three consecutive expeditions; what insuperable obstacles were encountered in conquering that strong line of Djagaraga; what a bloody drama was enacted there on that dark black night of the 25th May, 1849, when our men were overwhelmed and the commander-in-chief, Michiels, met his death!

And it is once again the same foe that we are to meet at Lombock . . . . . and this thought carries us back to the object of our voyage.

Come, let us together examine this land and its people and find out what is known of them and what our former connections with them were!

## III.

## OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

"The appearance of the island is striking; the entire surface is covered with a rich fertile soil and an elaborate system of irrigation is carried out from one end of the island to the other. The best cotton of the whole Archipelago is grown in the valleys between the hills. The road to Mataram lies between cultivated rice-fields, which extend for miles in various directions. Bananas growing about a foot high and lofty bamboos, together with the shady, elegant cocoa-tree flourish profusely. The approaches to the capital are lined on each side with tall waringin-trees, the luxuriant branches of which meet and intertwine, presenting a majestic and impressive picture, such as one would hardly expect to see in Lombock.

But the sight of such an enormous population along fields and roads, which neither believes in God nor in any future world, is enough to move a heart of stone."

This is what we read amongst other things in a painstaking geographical description in the "*Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*" of 1839. The "striking" aspect of the island is in no way altered since then according to more recent descriptions and many more hearts of stone would be deeply touched could they but see the vastly increased numbers of unbelievers!

It was at the time that article was written barely a quarter of a century since the great eruption, (5—17 April 1815) of the Tambora in Sumbawa, by which 12.000 people were destroyed beneath the burning ashes and according to the official statistics about 200.000 Sassaks must have died from starvation and exposure; the whole island was laid waste, being covered with from one to two feet of lava and for years no rice crops were raised. The inhabitants of Lombock never refer to this catastrophe except with fear and trembling and in whispered tones. The above-mentioned review gives the then number of inhabitants as 8000 Balinese and 170.000 Sassaks—and eight years later (1847) the eminent Swiss naturalist, Zollinger, to whom we are indebted for most of our information concerning Lombock, gives the following startling figures: 20.000 Balinese, 380.000 Sassaks, besides, 5000 Bugis.

But towards the middle of this century the increase of the population was still assuming larger proportions! The traveller, J. P. Freyss,

who describes his travels in Mangarai and Lombock in 1856 makes the following statement: 200.000 men, capable of carrying arms, that is from 15 to 40 years of age; this number includes 30.000 Balinese, 20.000 Bugis and 150.000 Sassaks; from these figures it is computed

Sassak Kampong chief.

that the entire population amounts to one million souls! And that on an area of 103 square geographical miles—just about the size of North Brabant!

It was all important, as we shall see, that the Rajah of Lombock

should be accurately acquainted with the number of his subjects—and Wallace in his interesting work, "The Malay Archipelago," narrates the trick resorted to by the shrewd prince to obtain the desired information. Although the diplomacy resorted to on that occasion contains no practical teaching for present-day rulers, still the narrative gives an insight into the habits and religion of the people:

"The Rajah of Lombock was a very wise man, and he showed his wisdom greatly in the way he took the census. For my readers must known that the chief revenues of the Rajah were derived from a head-tax of rice, a small measure being paid annually by every man, woman, and child in the island. There was no doubt that every one paid this tax, for it was a light one, and the land was fertile and the people well off; but it had to pass through many hands before it reached the Government storehouses. When the harvest was over the villagers brought their rice to the Kapala Kampong or head of the village; and no doubt he had sometimes compassion on the poor or sick and passed over their short measure, and sometimes was obliged to grant a favour to those who had complaints against him; and then he must keep up his own dignity by having his granaries better filled than his neighbours so the rice he took to the 'waidono' that was over his district was generally a good deal less than it should have been. And all the 'Waidonos' had of course to take care of themselves, for they were all in debt, and it was so easy to take a little of the Government rice, and there would still be plenty for the Rajah. And the 'Gustis' (princes) who received the rice from the Waidonos helped themselves likewise, and so when the harvest was all over and the rice tribute was brought in, the quantity was found to be less each year than the one before. Sickness in one district, and fevers in another, and failure of crops in a third, were of course alleged as the cause for this falling off; but when the Rajah went to hunt at the foot of the great mountain, or went to visit a Gusti on the other side of the island, he always saw the villages full of people, all looking well-fed and happy. And he noticed that the krisses of his chiefs and officers were getting handsomer and handsomer; and the handles that were of yellow wood were changed for ivory, and those of ivory were changed for gold, and diamonds and emeralds sparkled on many of them; and he knew very well which way the tribute-rice went. But as he could not

Sassak woman.

prove it, he kept silence, and resolved in his own heart some day to have a census taken, so that he might know the number of his people, and not be cheated out of more rice than was just and reasonable.

"But the difficulty was how to get this census. He could not go himself into every village and every house, and count all the people; and if he ordered it to be done by the regular officers they would quickly understand what it was for, and the census would be sure to agree exactly with the quantity of rice he got last year. It was evident therefore that to answer his purpose, no one must know that there was any census taken at all.

"This was a very hard problem; and the Rajah thought and thought, as hard as a Malay Rajah can be expected to think, but could not solve it; and so he was very unhappy, and did nothing but smoke and chew betel with his favorite wife, and eat scarcely anything; and even when he went to the cock-fight did not seem to care whether his best birds won or lost. For several days he remained in this sad state, and all the court were afraid some evil eye had bewitched the Rajah; and an unfortunate Irish captain who had come in for a cargo of rice and who squinted dreadfully, was very nearly being krissed, but being first brought to the royal presence was graciously ordered to go on board and remain there while his ship stayed in the port.

'One morning however, after about a week's continuance of this unaccountable melancholy, a welcome change took place, for the Rajah sent to call together all the chiefs and priests and princes who were then in Mataram, his capital city; and when they were all assembled in anxious expectation, he thus addressed them;

"For many days my heart has been very sick and I knew not why, but now the trouble is cleared away, for I have had a dream. Last night the spirit of the 'Gunong Agong'—the great fire mountain—appeared to me, and told me that I must go up to the top of the mountain. All of you may come with me to near the top, but then I must go up alone, and the great spirit will again appear to me and will tell me what is of great importance to me and to you and to all the people of the island. Now go all of you and make this known through the island, and let every village furnish men to make clear a road for us to go through the forest and up the great mountain.

"So the news was spread over the whole island that the Rajah must go to meet the great spirit on the top of the mountain; and every village sent forth its men, and they cleared away the jungle and made bridges over the mountain streams and smoothed the rough places for the Rajah's passage. And when they came to the steep and craggy rocks of the mountain, they sought out the best paths, sometimes along the bed of a torrent, sometimes along narrow ledges of the black rocks; in one place cutting down a tall tree so as to bridge across a chasm, in another constructing ladders to mount the smooth face of a precipice. The chiefs who superintended the work fixed upon the length of each day's journey beforehand according to the nature of the road, and

chose pleasant places by the banks of clear streams and in the neighbourhood of shady trees, where they built sheds and huts of bamboo well thatched with the leaves of palm-trees, in which the Rajah and his attendants might eat and sleep at the close of each day.

"And when all was ready, the princes and priests and chief men came again to the Rajah, to tell him what had been done and to ask him when he would go up the mountain. And he fixed a day, and ordered every man of rank and authority to accompany him, to do honour to the great spirit, who had bid him undertake the journey; and to show how willingly they obeyed his commands. And then there was much preparation throughout the whole island. The best cattle were killed and the meat salted and sun-dried; and abundance of red peppers and sweet potatoes were gathered; and the tall pinang-trees were climbed for the spicy betel nut, the sirih-leaf was tied up in bundles, and every man filled his tobacco pouch and lime box to the brim, so that he might not want any of the materials for chewing the refreshing betel during the journey. And the stores of provisions were sent on a day in advance. And on the day before that appointed for starting, all the chiefs both great and small came to Mataram, the abode of the king, with their horses and their servants, and the bearers of their sirih boxes and their sleeping-mats and their provisions. And they encamped under the tall waringin-trees that border all the roads about Mataram, and with blazing fires frightened away the ghouls and evil spirits that nightly haunt the gloomy avenues.

"In the morning a great procession was formed to conduct the Rajah to the mountain. And the royal princes and relations of the Rajah mounted their black horses, whose tails swept the ground; they used no saddle or stirrups; but sat upon a cloth of gay colours; the bits were of silver and the bridles of many coloured cords. The less important people were on small strong horses of various colours, well suited to a mountain journey; and all (even the Rajah) were bare-legged to above the knee, wearing only the gay coloured cotton waist-cloth, a silk or cotton jacket, and a large handkerchief tastefully folded round the head. Every one was attended by one or two servants bearing his sirih or betel boxes, who were also mounted on ponies; and great numbers more had gone on in advance or waited to bring up the rear. The men in authority were numbered by hundreds and their followers by thousands, and all the island wondered what great thing would come of it.

"For the first two days they went along good roads and through many villages which were swept clean, and had bright cloths hung out at the windows; and all the people, when the Rajah came, squatted down upon the ground in respect, and every man riding got off his horse and squatted down also, and many joined the procession at every village. At the place where they stopped for the night, the people had placed stakes along each side of the roads in front of the houses. These were split crosswise at the top, and in the cleft were fastened little clay lamps, and between them were stuck the green leaves of

palm-trees, which, dripping with the evening dew, gleamed prettily with the many twinkling lights. And few went to sleep that night till the morning hours, for every house held a knot of eager talkers, and much betel-nut was consumed, and endless were the conjectures what would come of it.

"On the second day they left the last village behind them and entered the wild country that surrounds the great mountain, and rested in the

Sasaks in the kampong.

huts that had been prepared for them on the banks of a stream of cold and sparkling water. And the Rajah's hunters, armed with long and heavy guns, went in search of deer and wild bulls in the surrounding woods, and brought home the meat of both in the early morning, and sent it on in advance to prepare the midday meal. On the third day

they advanced as far as horses could go, and encamped at the foot of high rocks, among which narrow paths only could be found to reach the mountain-top. And on the fourth morning when the Rajah set out, he was accompanied only by a small party of priests and princes with their immediate attendants; and they toiled wearily up the rugged way, and sometimes were carried by their servants, till they passed up above the great trees, and then among the thorny bushes and above them again on to the black and burnt rock of the highest part of the mountain.

And when they were near the summit the Rajah ordered them all to halt, while he alone went to meet the great spirit on the very peak of the mountain. So he went on with two boys only who carried his sirih and betel, and soon reached the top of the mountain among great rocks on the edge of the great gulf whence issued forth continually smoke and vapour. And the Rajah asked for sirih, and told the boys to sit down under a rock and look down the mountain and not to move till he returned to them. And as they were tired, and the sun was warm and pleasant, and the rock sheltered them from the cold wind, the boys fell asleep. And the Rajah went a little way on under another rock; and he was tired, and the sun was warm and pleasant, and he too fell asleep.

"And those who were waiting for the Rajah, thought him a long time on the top of the mountain, and thought the great spirit must have much to say, or might perhaps want to keep him on the mountain always, or perhaps he had missed his way in coming down again. And they were debating whether they should go and search for him, when they saw him coming down with the two boys. And when he met them he looked very grave and said nothing; and then all descended together, and the procession returned as it had come; and the Rajah went to his palace and the chief to their villages, and the people to their houses, to tell their wives and children all that had happened, and to wonder yet again what would come of it.

"And three days afterwards the Rajah summoned the priests and the princes and the chief men of Mataram, to hear what the great spirit had told him on the top of the muontain. And when they were all assembled, and the betel and sirih had been handed round, he told them what had happened. On the top of the mountain he had fallen into a trance, and the great spirit had appeared to him with a face like burnished gold, and had said—'O Rajah! much plague and sickness and fevers are coming upon all the earth, upon men and upon horses and upon cattle; but as you and your people have obeyed me and have come up to my great mountain, I will teach you how you and all the people of Lombock may escape this plague.'

"And all waited anxiously to hear how they were to be saved from so fearful a calamity. And after a short silence the Rajah spoke again and told them,—that the great spirit had commanded that twelve sacred krisses should be made, and that to make them every village and every district must send a bundle of needles—a needle for every head in the village. And when any grievous disease appeared in any village, one of

the sacred krisses should be sent there; and if every house in that village, had sent the right number of needles, the disease would immediately cease, but if the number of needles sent had not been exact, the kris would have no virtue.

"So the princes and chiefs sent to all their villages and communicated the wonderful news; and all made haste to collect the needles with the greatest accuracy, for they feared that if but one were wanting the whole village would suffer. So one by one the head men of the villages brought in their bundles of needles; those who were near Mataram came in first, and those who were far off came last; and the Rajah received them with his own hands, and put them away carefully in an inner chamber, in a camphor-wood chest whose hinges and clasps were of silver; and on every bundle was marked the name of the village and the district whence it came, so that it might be known that all had heard and obeyed the commands of the great spirit.

"And when it was quite certain that every village had sent in its bundle, the Rajah divided the needles into twelve equal parts, and ordered the best steel-worker in Mataram to bring his forge and his bellows and his hammers to the palace, and to make twelve krisses under the Rajah's eye, and in the sight of all men who chose to see it. And when they were finished, they were wrapped up in new silk and put away carefully until they might be wanted.

"Now the journey to the mountain was in the time of the east wind when no rain falls in Lombock. And soon after the krisses were made it was the time of the rice harvest, and the chiefs of districts and of villages brought in their tax to the Rajah according to the number of heads in their villages. And to those that wanted but little of the full amount, the Rajah said nothing; but when those came who brought only half or a fourth part of what was strictly due, he said to them mildly. 'The needles which you sent from your village were many more than came from such-a-one's village, yet your tribute is less than his; go back and see who it is that has not paid the tax.' And the next year the produce of the tax increased greatly, for they feared that the Rajah might justly kill those who a second time kept back the right tribute. And so the Rajah became very rich, and increased the number of his soldiers, and gave golden jewels to his wives, and bought fine black horses from the white-skinned Hollanders, and made great feasts when his children were born or were married; and none of the Rajahs or Sultans among the Malays were so great or so powerful as the Rajah of Lombock.

"And the twelve sacred krisses had great virtue. And when any sickness appeared in a village one of them was sent for; and sometimes the sickness went away, and the sacred kris was taken back again with great honour, and the head men of the village came to tell the Rajah of its miraculous power, and to thank him. And sometimes the sickness would not go away; and then everybody was convinced that there had been a mistake in the number of needles sent from that village, and

therefore the sacred kris had no effect, and had to be taken back again by the head men with heavy hearts, but still with honour, for was not the fault their own!"

Whether we look upon this narrative as fact or fiction, it is more than likely that the princes were pretty well acquainted with the number of their subjects and at the time of Zollinger's visit, it did not reach 500.000. Together with this and other facts and considering that the population would not grow so rapidly in more recent times owing to oppression, poverty and sickness, we look upon the reports of controller Heijligers, who visited Lombock in 1884 and those of captain H. P. Willemstijn in the "Indian Military Review 1891" as being the more approximate estimates. According to these accounts the inhabitants of Lombock would amount to 650.000 souls, of whom 600.000 belong to the aborigines of Lombock, the Sassaks, and 50.000 to the ruling race, the Hindu-Balinese and there might be an average of say 6000 persons belonging respectively to the Malay, Arab or Chinese races.

Accepting these figures as correct, there would, according to European statistics, only be 120.000 men averaging from fifteen to forty years of age.

The shorter duration of life amongst the natives and the recent great privations endured by them would have a decidedly diminishing effect upon the number of men capable of carrying arms and would probably reduce it to 100.000, which is the figure given by Heijligers.

Accordingly, and in confirmation of the opinion expressed by Zollinger, there would only be one fifth of this number—20.000—capable of acting in the coolie or transport service in time of war.

From all accounts, it seems that the Sassaks were quite untrained in the use of arms and in time of peace are not even provided with guns. In time of war they are summoned and the greater part of them are provided with spears and lances from the stores in hand at Tjákra Nagara and the others are given flint and percussion muskets.

Owing to the continuous warfare against the Rajah, things have altered somewhat latterly and different kinds of fire-arms have come into their possession and they now have breach-loaders and repeaters. Still their chief weapon is the "kris", which is borne by all natives. "Klewangs" are not often seen, according to Zollinger.

Under the present circumstances we had not much resistance to fear from these people; on the contrary we might anticipate their more or less powerful support.

As far as the Balinese are concerned, they are all compelled to serve in time of war. According to the above made calculations they would muster about 10.000 strong in the field; however from later accounts, we hear that the princes only had 6000 men at their disposal, 2000 of whom were auxiliary troops from Karang Assim under their own prince, the since so notorious Gusti Djilantik.

The Balinese soldiers do not constitute a standing army, but are called out in time of war and receive their arms from Tjakra Nagara

like the Sassaks. One hundred and fifty soldiers are always under arms and compose the prince's body-guard. The uniform of this body-guard consists, according to Zollinger and Dr. Jacobs, who visited Lombock in 1882, of a white head covering and a jacket of red baize and according to Dr. Jacobs they also wear a "sarong" caught up between the legs.

There is no question of drill or practise in times of peace. Heer van Eck says that a merchant at Ampenan told him, however, that his coolies were constantly being called away for four or five days at a time to practise target shooting. On these occasions they were obliged to provide themselves with food and lodgings, which caused much privation and sickness amongst them and the drilling or practising cannot really have been of any advantage to them. Opposed to well drilled troops in the open field the Balinese need not be considered as very serious opponents, but their powers of resistance under cover, behind walls and earthworks is remarkable and by no means to be despised. We had an experience of this in the earlier expeditions against their ancestors.

Balinese man.

The Rajah cannot in any degree depend upon the Bugis, whose recruits would probably only number about 50 and whose chief, Pa Molda, alias Doci, has always under some pretext or another managed to secure their immunity from serving in the army. And finally the prince did not venture to summon those Sassaks, who were nominally faithful and bound to him by ties of blood and who dwelt among the Balinese, for fear they might eventually join the rebels.

The number of firearms they are said to possess differs considerably. Willemstijn reckons about 25.000, amongst which a great number of breach-loaders. By this time however, many must be in the hands of the rebels and many must be defective. Of course we are ignorant as to the competence of their gunsmiths to repair them; but our experiences at Atcheen would go to prove that we are justified in thinking that their skill is somewhat exaggerated, especially regarding modern firearms.

Less divergent and more reassuring are the opinions expressed regarding their acquaintance with cannon. At most they have not more than 70 or 80 and these are of ancient construction and various calibres and the greater number are unprovided with gun-carriages. At the beginning of the uprising the greater part of them were conveyed to Praja by the Sassaks but would have been more dangerous to themselves than to the enemy!

No one knows how to charge them. Zollinger was informed that it was intended to force the Bugis to use them in case of need. This would not have been dangerous for us as we afterwards discovered.

A very large supply of gunpowder, almost enough for two years, is stored at Tjakra and powder and shot are being continually imported into Lombock. The significance of this is lessened however by the circumstance that, according to Zollinger, a great amount is consumed on the occasion of various festivities. * If, to what we have already stated, we add that there is never any question of horses during the war, then we shall have completed what we have to say regarding the military system at Lombock.

Zollinger says that the entire Balinese population resides at Mataram and the outskirts, or at Ampenan, Karang-Assim (afterwards called Tjakra Nagara), etc. This, he adds, is a wise measure, for if they were too widely scattered over the country they would have far more difficulty in defending themselves in case of attack. The opinion expressed by Zollinger was correct—but we must bear in mind that it was formulated before the great rebellion of 1855, and although the outskirts have in course of time extended considerably and the border line of Balinese supremacy may now be said to reach from Sanah Tepong to the East of Narmada to near Raja on the South-east, still it will be a matter of surprise to many how such a comparatively small number of Hindu-Balinese, inhabitants of the smaller part of the island, should have attained authority over such a far greater number as the Mohammedan population dispersed all over the island and not only obtained it, but kept it.

Before proceeding to show how the Lombock rulers obtained such a firm footing in the island, we shall endeavour to sketch the historical and religious institutions of the rulers.

It was probably in the first centuries of the Christian era that the Indians or Hindus, in the pursuit of their extensive trade with Southern Asia and China, established themselves in Java, Sumatra and other islands inhabited by the Malay race and planted colonies there.

With their Hindu religion these Indians also brought their knowledge of agriculture (rice culture), cattle-breeding and to Java in particular their architecture, in which island they laid the foundation of that high civilization of which we still see the remains in such wonderful achievements as the master-piece of Buru-Budur. There they established amongst many kingdoms the once so powerful and famous Madjapahit, which reached the zenith of its glory towards the end of the 14th century under Angka Widjaja and extended its influence far and wide to other countries. Thus it came to pass that, even amongst the early,

* Heer King related to Zollinger amongst other things, that at the celebration of some festivity—the "Karia Dewa Yagna"—at which he was going to assist, the princes would consume more than 30 pikols of powder for salutes during the procession (1 pikol is about 125 Amsterdam lbs.)

the original inhabitants of Bali they disseminated the seeds of their morality, their religion and their civilization. *

All this was not accomplished without a struggle, although the yoke of the indulgent and broad-minded Hindus was sure not to weigh too heavily upon the people. One of the most serious attempts at rebellion was during the latter part of the 15th century shortly before the fall of Madjapahit.

The two chief generals of this kingdom were ordered to cross over to Bali and subjugate the island by force of arms. Arja Damar and Patih Gadja accordingly went with a considerable army; the former was especially successful in a series of battles and Bali was soon compelled to submit again to Hindu rule; the name of Arja Damar occupies a foremost place in Javanese literature and in Balinese legends as the hero of the day and many of their "wajangs" are made to represent the feats performed by him.

This expedition was the last display of power of the once so mighty kingdom of Madjapahit.

What then can have been the events that led up to the downfall of this realm?

Probably at a much earlier period, but at all events certainly during the reign of Angka Widjaja, Arabian missionaries had come over to Java to propagate Islamism. Conspicuous amongst these was Raden Rahmat, whose adherents became so numerous and whose influence was so widespread, that he actually married one of the daughters of Angka Widjaja, from whom he received leave to establish himself at Surabaya and assume the title of Susuhunan, whilst his sons were raised to the position of Adipati or stadholders.

So firm a footing had Islamism now gained in Java, that it spread very rapidly and towards the middle of the 15th century half the island may be said to have been peopled with followers of the crescent.

In proportion as the teaching of Mohammed was promulgated, so was the power of Madjapahit weakened, internal divisions hastening the disruption.

If hitherto Rahmat and his adherents had pursued peaceful methods

* Great diversity of opinion prevails regarding the origin of the Balinese and their conversion to the Hindu religion: in view of a similarity in morals, van Eck thinks they originate from Celebes; Van Hoëvell alleges that the Hindus come direct from India as well as from Java. In support of the idea that Hindus came direct to Bali from India, Friederich—of whom later—speaks of many customs practised in Bali and unknown in Java such as the burning of widows, the building of houses of brick, etc.

According to tradition, the first Hindus came to Bali from India. (see Jonkes "Volkskunde von Bali"). On their arrival, says the sage, they found two princes at Bali: not men, but demons. One of them had the head of a cockatoo!—and this is a remarkable statement, for Wallace says that this bird is not met with further Westwards than Lombock, where the Australian fauna commences, but oddly enough specimens are found at the present day on the island of Noesa or Penida, belonging to Bali.

This same tradition relates how several years later Ida Sapien Dalem Dewa Agong chose different wives from different parts of the island. At Kalong-Kalong he bought a slave, who bore him a son with woolly hair, but who could not be king on account of his mother having been a slave.

Does this narrative point to relationship with an inferior race perhaps from Australia?

in carrying out their purpose, it was not so with his successors; who did not hesitate to place their swords in the scales.

Raden Patah, a Mohammedan fanatic, struck the final blow to the tottering monarchy about 1478 of our era, which finally succumbed after a good deal of hard fighting with varying success.

The last king, Bra Widjaja, after struggling in vain to withstand the forces of the triumphant followers of the crescent, was compelled to seek refuge in the island of Bali with a few of his faithful subjects; he established himself at Gelgel, a dessa in Kalongkong, not far from the present capital of the Dewa Agong. From here he—the first Dewa Agong—exercised his authority throughout the island, which he partitioned into various divisions, where the chiefs of his army—poenggawas—were sent as his vassals. By degrees these chiefs of districts made themselves independent of their ruler and founded the small principalities into which Bali is now divided. *

Ratzel has drawn particular attention in his "Völkerkünde" to the spread of Papuans over the Indian Archipelago where they were transported as slaves by the sea-faring Malays—especially to the coast towns. But even further inland elements of the Papuan race are discernible; and the Balinese were not a sea-faring people.

Tonkes deduces from these circumstances that, both at Bali and Lombock, we have to deal with an ante-Papuan people, mixed up first with the Malay race and subsequently with the Hindus and Hindu-Javanese.

To return for a moment to Balinese traditions—it appears that the sons of Ida Sapien Dalem were the direct ancestors of the present princes—of whom the Dewa Agong (viz. the great dewa) of Kalongkong is the most important branch, he being descended from a union contracted between Ida Sapien Dalem and his own sister, both being of equally high birth.

We shall have to refer again later on to this Dewa Agong of Kalongkong, who strangely enough is still entitled by our Government as Susuhunan.

It is a well-known fact that in certain dessas of Bali, like Sembiran and Sangsit, there still linger many traces of the ante-Balinese, (Bali-aga) who in their worship had preserved the customs of the ancient Polynesian heathens—for instance these people neither bury their dead nor cremate them, but lay them in or under a tree outside the dessa, as is still done at Nias.

* It may be interesting to hear more of the popular traditions regarding the origin of the Hindus in Bali.

What follows is taken from a manuscript of 1842 and is written by Heer van Rees to the then Colonial Minister, I. C. Baud:

"The arrival of the Musulmans with their Koran at Java caused great displeasure to the Brahmin gods who were reverenced there. Desirous of avoiding even the remotest contact with any strange gods, they determined to leave Java; accordingly they departed and going eastwards they reached Bali, where they decided to establish their earthly throne. Their resolution was however met with opposition; Bali already possessed her own gods, wicked beings, called Raksasas. They had the courage to defend themselves energetically against the Brahmin deities, but they were finally defeated. However one of the Raksasas succeeded in escaping from annihilation and continued to sojourn in the island and this was the Balinese god, known as "Mraya Dawana"

Should we be justified in concluding that this deity is representative of the ante-Balinese, whom one meets in certain portions of the island and to whom we have already referred?

According to the "holy chronicle" from which this narrative is taken, the victorious Brahmin gods now decided to build for themselves worthy earthly habitations. In those days Bali was a very flat country and as it would be undignified to place themselves on the same level as mere mortals, it was settled that they should transfer the four hills from the East corner of Java to Bali.

The highest one was placed in the East, the place of honour and was given the name of Gunong-Agong, which means highest or greatest mountain. Henceforward this was to constitute as it were the Olympus of Bali; the other three were located in the West, North and South and were assigned to the different gods according to their respective ranks.

By command of the gods two human beings were born from the fruit of the cocoa-palm growing on the Gunong-Agong: one was a man and the other a woman; these were taught

Thus it came about that Hinduism found shelter on the very border of its earlier domains; here have been preserved up to the present day their sacred writings, their historical traditions, their religious institutions: these have left an indelible mark both for good and evil on the aborigines, but in any case they have resulted in a higher civilization and great developzent in agriculture!

How now did the Hindu-Balinese succeed in extending their rule to Lombock?

Very little or nothing is known of the early history of the Sassaks; a decided uncertainty prevails regarding the period when they accepted the doctrine of Islamism. It must presumably have been shortly after the fall of the Hindu dynasty in Java, when the Arabian merchants were no longer admitted to the island of Bali in pursuit of their business and consequently turned to Lombock to sell their wares and at the same time disseminate their religious views amongst the inhabitants. The date of the conversion of the Sassaks to Islamism may roughly be put down as being the latter part of the 13th and the earlier part of the 16th centuries. This conversion differs from the conversion to Hinduism, both in Bali and Lombock, in so far as it only touched the outer life and consisted chiefly in subscribing to the dogma: "There is no god but Allah and Mohammed is his prophet" and in the abstention from pork and submission to circumcision. *

by the gods how to instruct the people in their religious worship. These two first teachers received the name of Manko (head-priest) and they (there are still female priests in Bali) also taught the people who had by this time come from Java.

But what had occurred meanwhile in Java?

The numerous calamities and disasters which overtook the Hindus now assembled in East Java, made them feel that they were entirely forsaken by the gods under whose protection they were placed, but who had now left Java. The Natung Willa Tikta (prince), now occupying the throne of Madjapahit, on being informed by the Brahmins that the temples were empty and deserted, charged his general, Patch Gadjamada to seek out the new abode of the absent gods. Escorted by a powerful following, the general landed at Bali, where he was soon on the traces of the missing deities. As soon as these tidings reached the prince he hastened to gather a large army and crossed over to Bali, which became the scene of many bloody conflicts; the natives were led by the invincible Raksasa "Mraya Dawana," their own god, who had escaped the fury of the Hindu gods. Finally however Willa Tikta (Bra Widgaja) conquered them and became master of the island; he selected one of the hills in the West, only half the height of the Gunong-Agong, as the seat of his Government and he built there the town of Kalonkong. The Brahmins established themselves on a projecting angle of the highest hill between the gods and the princes—this again confirms the idea that the priests constituted a higher caste—and the heads of the army scattered themselves in a southern or south-western direction, all receiving smaller or larger grants of territory in proportion to the services rendered in subjugating the island.

* Regarding the introduction of Islamism in Java and Lombock, Van Eck contributes in the "Tijdschr. v. Ind. Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde, 1875," the following tradition, which is generally accepted in Bali and which we subjoin as forming part of the people's creed there. Those readers who may take exception at the narrative must bear in mind that similar accounts are current concerning the origin of tribes in other islands of the Archipelago, in Java for instance. One has only to remember the Kalangs in Central Java, regarding whose origin Professor Veth gives all the necessary details in his famous work.

"One day, a very long time ago, Batara Indra, the much-feared chief of the lower gods or dewas in Bali was right up on top of the hill, assigned to him for his dwelling-place. Suddenly, whilst surveying from these heights the nether world at his feet, he was seized with the violent need to relieve nature. Anxious, however, that none of the sacred water

We intend to discuss the political situation of Lombock presently, but the first question that presents itself to us is: whence did the name derive its origin? Nothing much is known for certain; all that can be learned is, that a fair sized place of that name is situated on a bay on the east coast—the bay also being called Lombock and according to the declarations of the natives, one of the Sassak chiefs must have been established there. Both Zollinger and Van Eck state that a place similarly named is also found on the west coast. There is no difficulty in surmising that the early East India navigators, who used this place as a watering station, should have given the name to the whole island. Anyhow we find the name of Lombock mentioned by our traders, as we shall see later in our review of our early relations with that kingdom.

The natives still adhere to the old name of Salaparang, as we have seen in the letter written by the Sassak chiefs.

The origin of Salaparang is likewise hidden in obscurity; Valentyn speaks of an island called "Salamparang" subject to the Balinese, possibly the old name of the island, but more probably of one of the independent little states into which it was divided before the arrival of the Balinese.

should be lost, he called upon the animals of the surrounding woods, promising that whichsoever of them would drink his urine should give birth to a human being and that the offspring should be a girl. The first to respond to this appeal was a sow, who was rewarded in a few weeks time by bringing into the world a lovely little girl, whom she brought up in the woods with the greatest possible care.

"As the girl attained to womanhood the had all she ways and habits of a well brought up Balinese woman and she was specially skilful in weaving sarongs. From early morning to late in the evening she might be seen at her loom; one day while very busy at work, she dropped her shuttle—she picked it up hurriedly, but it fell again and this occurred again and again; as often as the girl attempted to take the shuttle in her hand it slipped from her and at last, losing patience, she exclaimed in despair: 'Will no one pick up my shuttle for me? If a man answers my prayer I will be his wife, if a woman, she shall be a sister to me.'

"Her prayer reached the ear of Batara Indra, who taking pity upon his foster-daughter sent one of his dogs (spirits) to her assistance. He acquitted himself of the task appointed to him and to his great surprise, he became that very day the husband of this lovely maiden. The fruit of this union was a fine boy; his parents called him Mantring Moder (perhaps a corruption of Modar or Prince of death). They themselves could give no reason for thus naming him and history does not enlighten us. All we have ascertained is, that as the boy grew older, he caused his mother considerable annoyance by continually enquiring who his father was. She was ashamed to tell him the truth until compelled by circumstances to do so.

"One morning Mantring Moder went as usual to hunt in the wood. His special purpose on this day was to discover the whereabouts of a long and lanky dog, which was in the habit of wandering round their dwelling at night time and disturbing their slumbers by his hideous whinings; finally he espied his tormentor, who suspecting no evil, was seated peacefully beneath a tree in friendly conversation with an old sow. Naturally Mantring Moder was unaware that he saw before him his father and his grandmother, so he let fly at him—and a moment later the dog was a corpse.

"Having accomplished this heroic deed the young man returns home. Presently he tells his mother about his day's hunting and only then does he learn from the widow, of what a terrible misdeed he has been guilty. He does not appear very repentant, and indeed what troubles him most of all, is the thought that his father should have been a dog. After meditating upon his wretched fate for a considerable length of time, he decides to try and obtain an audience of Batara Indra. He meets with a kindly reception and does not hesitate to state his request, that it may please Batara to grant him a bangsa (status) amongst men. Indra listens to him patiently but asserts his inability to comply. I have only just—so spoke his Holiness—instituted the tjatoer-djalma (caste divisions of which later) amongst my Balinese children. I have divided them into four classes and more than that I cannot do. You have come too late.

"After a little consideration however Batara added; You have come too late and I cannot

According to Zollinger the title of Rajah of Salaparang was taken by the princes of the island to commemorate the conquest and destruction of the capital of one of the Sassak states bearing that name and in favour of this suggestion we have the fact that at the foot of the hill of Rendjani, in the Sassak division, there still exists a village of that name.

Before the arrival of the Balinese the island was divided into various more or less independent districts, which were ruled by chiefs under the title of Datoeq or Raden. One common ruler was not acknowledged, on the contrary there were continuous internecine struggles for authority and supremacy.

So it came to pass, that during the middle of last century some serious struggles were going on between the princes and one of these, the Rajah of Praja, sent a message to Ratoe Gedeh Ngoerah of Karangassim in Bali, to come and assist him to defeat the other native princes. The Balinese prince was not slow to accept the invitation, seeing before him the opportunity of establishing his own authority in Lombock. He agreed to help the prince of Praja in recovering his independence, but on the

include you in the tjatoer-djalman, but I will do something else for you; I will create a new tribe for you. You shall be the head of the 'slams' (Islam, 'slam.) Here is a tiny phial, take it with you to heathen Java and pour its contents into all the waters where the people bathe. The result of this will be that all will be attacked by a deadly disease; when this has come to pass, then present yourself to the public and proclaim loudly that you are possessed of an infallible remedy against the fatal disorder. That remedy is 'circumcision.'

"Now go at once and I promise you that within a very short time you shall be at the head of a race innumerable as the stars in heaven and that to perpetuate your memory they shall be called: 'slams."

Mantring Moder had no sooner received the phial from the hands of Batara than he departed and without resting on the way, he sped to Java. Here he followed out minutely the instructions received and everything occurred as had been foretold. All who bathed were seized with sudden illness and as all stood in fear of death they readily submitted to circumcision; within a few months the whole of Java was converted to Islam.

Our hero instead of being satisfied at finding himself at the head of thousands and tens of thousands of people, pined for further aggrandizement and desired to extend his fame beyond the limits of Java.

In due time Mantring Moder remembers that Batara Indra had spoken to him of Sassaks—and he prepares to visit their island with some of his followers: they reach there safely and establish themselves at Dangin Djoering. No one troubles about the stranger, who is apparently peaceably inclined. Very shortly after the Sassaks begin to find out their mistake. An unknown disease, whose ravages the cleverest doctors cannot arrest, has been spread amongst the inhabitants. It must be the stranger who is the cause thereof! The islanders driven to the verge of despair assemble in front of Mantring Moder's abode, and certain it is that his life would have been worth short purchase, had he not possessed the knowledge how to allay the strange malady. Without the slightest demur every man on the island was circumcised and the disease disappeared from their midst as rapidly as it had come.

As a mark of gratitude all the admirers of the honoured stranger covered their head with a piece of cloth (ikat kapala), intended to represent the skin of a dog and the handles of their krisses were so re-shaped, as to remind each one of the circumcision.

This then, according to tradition, would explain the wearing of the head-cloth by the Sassaks, whereas it is only worn in exceptional instances by the Hindu-Balinese.

Regarding the later fate of the propagator of Islamism, the legend says: "that, while his success had been so boundless, there was one to whom it rather gave cause for anxiety and that was no less a personage than Batara Indra, who began to tremble lest Mantring Moder might take it into his head to cross over to Bali with his followers. And what to do to prevent it? The only thing was, to get rid of him and that is what Batara did. Mantring Moder was once more preparing for fresh conquests, when he died quite suddenly and his adherents laid him to rest at Dangin Djoering, where his remains are still said to be at the present day."

understanding that in return for his services he, the prince of Karangassim, should keep for himself all that he could take.

A numerous expedition crossed over from Bali to fight the enemies of Praja. The petty princes of Lombock were totally unprepared to defend themselves against such an array of force, and one by one they were all defeated.—When all had been vanquished, the Balinese turned against Praja itself and this too fell into his power; and since that time the Balinese rule has been established in Lombock.

This of course is the story. But is it not doubtful whether a series of events which occurred at short intervals have not all been rolled into one by tradition?

Considering the close proximity of the islands it is more than probable that communication and connection between Bali and Lombock existed at a much earlier period and that the repeated marauding incursions of the more powerful race of the Hindu-Balinese led up to the ultimate extension of power. As a matter of fact, we find mentioned in Van Eck's writings, that the cause of the Rajah of Praja's troubles with the other princes of Lombock, was his being on too friendly terms with the foreigners—the Balinese—and even before that, the reigning princes of the two islands had intercourse with one another. For instance the prince Gusti Wayan Taga, who reigned over Lombock from 1741 to 1775 under the supreme authority of Bali, was on his father's side a descendent of the Sassaks, although his mother was of Balinese descent. There remains no doubt about the fact that since the middle of last century the Balinese have ruled Lombock and their influence has been paramount.

This is an opportune moment to speak of the Hindu-Balinese institutions and religion, for without a knowledge of these things it is impossible to obtain an insight into the social conditions of Bali and Lombock. The religion of the Balinese permeates their whole existence—their gods are present everywhere, they are all-powerful and exercise a direct influence over every act of their lives.

"If a child smiles in its sleep it is a token that its guardian angel is watching over it; abundant rains and plentiful crops are other proofs of the goodness of the gods, who frequently place themselves in communication with men and advise them how to act in the interest of their dessas or their families. It is thought that the deities when in a bad temper or angered send all sorts of misfortunes, such as epidemics, or bad harvests, etc. Their favours are gratefully acknowledged, but it is their anger which most influences the people, who spare no efforts or sacrifices to propitiate them and turn aside their resentment."

Was not the death of the notable Balinese woman on the day planned for the murderous attack on our troops looked upon as an ill-omen and a warning from the gods to delay? .... How grateful we ought to be to that warning!

If amongst many sects we often find traces of their earlier beliefs,

this is certainly a marked characteristic in the Hindu-Balinese religion, which is largely interspersed with the tenets of the original creed of the Malays.

The ancient Malay faith was a pure worship of nature, with the sun as chief deity, while ranking next in order came those deceased persons, who had been raised to the dignity of gods, and whose protection was sought against the evil spirits who were wont to dwell in the houses, woods, rivers, etc.

In some cases it was necessary to appease the spirits by blood-offerings; and here and there human sacrifices have occurred.

Friederich asserts in his oft-mentioned "Previous Report" that he has been able to ascertain by means of indirect questioning that human sacrifices have taken place in Bali.

"A former ruler of Karang Assim having been defeated in war, sought to be restored to the favor of the gods by the sacrifice of a human life. He took one of his slaves into a wood, killed him, clothed the body and placed it amongst the other offerings. Whilst the pandita (priest) was reciting the invocations from the Veda, * the wind got up suddenly and raising the covering revealed the sight of a human form. A curse overtook the foolhardy king, who was never restored to power.

"Another well-known instance is that of the prince who had also decided to sacrifice a slave; in the dark of night he went in search of him, but found his own son instead, who was roasted on a spear and sacrificed.

"It would be difficult to deny these two facts, for regarding the former, I not only heard of it at Badong, but it was confirmed by Mengoei who was a faithful friend and ally of Karang Assim; but of course the people there refuse to acknowledge the truth of it.

The second one about the prince of Gianjar is spoken off openly.

Whether this ghastly custom still prevails in a densely populated country where the common man is a slave † and of no value, I dare not undertake to state. In the "Verh. v. h. Bat. Genootsch. XII" we learn that on the night of the 7th March 1875, the people were assembled to offer sacrifices and amongst the remains of dogs, ducks, pigs and other animals, besides the usual profusion of fruit and flowers, there was also the dead body of a man, whose demise would, according to the pemangkoe, avert the prevailing epidemic.

* The Vedas occupy the highest place both in the Balinese and in the Hindu literature. They comprise all the prescribed formulas of prayer for the use of the priests, whether for private or public functions, or on occasions of rejoicing or sacrifice. They remain a secret for all, excepting the Brahmins, who are taught by the panditas. Friederich says they are all written in pure Sanskrit; in his opinion it would be of the utmost importance to master the contents of the Vedas, for this knowledge alone could render it possible to understand their religion in its entirety; furthermore, we might deduce from such knowledge a standard whereby to judge the state of Hinduism at the time it spread its influence over the Indian Archipelago and also be enabled to learn more of the Polynesian civilization at that period.

† This is less correct. The common man belongs to the "Sudras." He only becomes a slave under certain circumstances, as in case of debt, or for having committed a crime, punishable by a fine, he is unable to pay. The wife and children of a criminal caught red-handed and the wife and daughters of a "Sudra," dying without leaving sons or brothers, become the property of the prince.

As a result of the fear inspired by our government, which naturally prohibits human sacrifices, the custom has been discontinued in Bali, but in Lombock, where our authority was much less felt, these occurrences must have been frequent.

Wallace tells us that during his visit to Labuan Tring, on the S. W. coast of Lombock, he one evening overheard his servant and a Malay man whispering earnestly together outside his door and could distinguish various allusions to "krisses, throat-cutting, heads, etc., etc." At length his servant came in looking very serious and frightened and said in English, "Sir—must take care; no safe here;—want cut throat." On further enquiry it turned out that the Malay had arrived with the news that the Rajah had just sent orders to the village, that he required a certain number of "heads" for an offering in the temples, to secure a good crop of rice.

Two or three other Malays and Bugis confirmed the news and declared that it was an annual custom and that it would be most inexpedient to neglect the warning and go out alone, as every one had to be most cautious and watchful. Wallace endeavoured to persuade them that it was a mere tale and he himself continued his daily wanderings and researches in the woods. Although no harm did overtake him, this is in all probability due to his being a European; but if we take this narrative in conjunction with the previous ones, I do not think that the statements of the natives are to be dismissed so lightly.

Another curious surviving custom of the early Malay religion is the high honour bestowed on the "Raboet-Sedana" (a doll made of coppers). Once a year this image is carried out of the dessa temple on a golden litter, and arrayed in gala clothes; it is carried to the edge of a stream or to the sea shore in order to celebrate its birthday with the sea-gods. On this or similar occasions the religious ceremonies connected with the festivities, are presided over by the "Pemangkoes" (village-priests) and the Hindu priests keep in the background.

A few of the religious practices have still been retained, although the Hindu conquerors have thrown the mantle of their official religion over the shoulders of the ancient paganism of the Malays.

But even this religion of the conquerors was itself a medley of Budhism and Sivaism.

The Budhists, so says de Hollander in his "Handboek der Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Oost-Indië," were certainly first on the scene and came direct from India to Bali and although only met with in limited numbers, one finds them in a few villages, like Boeléleng, Karangassim and Gjangar. They all profess to belong to the highest class. In contradistinction to the Saivas, they eat beef and the flesh of horses and dogs.

There is an odd combination of "Budhism and Sivaism in the fire feasts" of the princes. On these occasions the sacred water of the pandita of Siva is mingled with that of the pandita of Budha, as a symbol that the followers of the former require the aid of the latter and that Budhism is still a sub-division of the Balinese religion.

Thus the Kawi manuscripts are written partly by the Saivas and partly by the Budhists, both using the same language.

Gate of the Poeri at Tjakra-Nagara.

The followers of the two religions are allowed to intermarry, in which case the wife adopts her husband's faith.

According to the panditas the connection between the two religions is as that of an elder brother (Siva) to a younger (Budha). They live at peace with each other.

In former times the Budhist influence was very strong and it is still customary on great festivals for priests of both religions to officiate, but the majority have accepted Brahminism and are worshippers of Siva, who has supplanted all the other Gods and sects of Hinduism.

The key note of the Balinese belief is propitiation and reverence: propitiation of the evil spirits and reverence for the birthplace of the family ancestors and for the gods who govern the destinies of the earth.

The predominant element in the religion of the Hindus in Lombock and Bali is fear, accompanied by a natural and incessant desire to appease the wrath of the evil spirits. These "boetas", as they are called, fill the air, and not content with punishing men for crimes they may have committed, they take the greatest delight in tormenting poor mortals, simply as an enjoyable pastime!

It is especially towards evening that extra precautions are necessary, that being the favorite hour for their wanderings, when they try to force their way into peoples' dwellings. Under the circumstances the only thing to be done is to try and pacify them; so it frequently happens that the mother of a family will place food of various kinds in front of her house and even a light to show the "boeta" the way. It is always considered a good omen if the spirits partake of the nourishment provided for them—in that case they proceed upon their journey without attempting to enter the house.

The remains of the "boetas" meal are much appreciated by the dogs and pigs, the Balinese domestic animals.

Notwithstanding all the precautions that are taken the spirits do sometimes succeed in penetrating into the houses and therefore special offerings are made from time to time; this is usually done on the eve of the Balinese New Year's day, when a choice selection is placed in the middle of the "erf" (homestead).

But even this is insufficient; once a year every dessa must be exorcised thoroughly and this ceremony has always to be carried out at the time of a new moon. The first thing to be done is to define most accurately the boundaries of every dessa; this being accomplished, the ceremony of driving away the boetas begins—this ceremony is called "Menjepi"; this is the only occasion on which the Balinese discard their krisses.

The following description is given by Van Eck in the "Tijdsch. voor Ned.-Indie," 1879:

"When the "kalas" and "boetas" have enjoyed free scope for a long time, the earth becomes "panas," (heated) then the "padanda" decrees that they must be driven away by force. In accordance with this command the whole population of the village or surrounding district assembles in front of the chief temple, where a large scaffold is erected

at the cross roads. The offerings (banten) are arranged round it in the shape of a compass; this form is chosen, so as to prevent any of the "dewas" fancying that they have been forgotten and thus feeling inclined to wreak their vengeance by depriving the ceremony of its power. The necessary offerings for the wicked spirits are not forgotten. Everything being ready the "padanda" appears in magnificent robes and ascends the scaffold, now dignified by the name of "pampoespa-an", and sprinkles the "beten" with holy water and mumbles the prayers. Beneath him are a male and a female priest who join in the invocations. As soon as—and it is now seven in the evening—the end of the prayer is notified, one of the bystanders blows the "soengoe" (a trumpet made out of a shell) in order to summon the "kalas" and the "boetas" to the repast. At the same time several of the men approach and light their torches at the sacred lamp burning before the priest. As soon as they have done this they disperse in all directions, followed by the multitude, they rush through all the streets and lanes shouting: "megedi," "megedi"! (go away, go away.) Wherever they pass, those who have been compelled to stay at home, come rushing out of their houses and try to assist in driving away the demons, by banging the doors, beating the trees, etc., etc. The poor "kalas", unaccustomed to all this noise, come forth from their hiding-places and hasten to partake of the feast prepared for them, but then growing afraid of the curse, so recently uttered against them, they all vanish into the air in less than no time. One solitary one, who cannot resist the "tjaroe" (dainties) tarries in the neighbourhood, but he is so startled by the sound of the big drum that he hastens to follow in the track of his brothers. Finally the last of the evil spirits has departed and the tremendous uproar and tumult is succeeded by a deathlike stillness, which continues the whole of the next day. The "kalas" would naturally ask for nothing better than to return once more to their old haunts, so in order to make them believe that the country they now see is an uninhabited island and not Bali, everybody is obliged to remain indoors for the next twenty-four hours. Everything is to be at a standstill and all house-work, especially cooking, is to be scrupulously avoided. Only the "sambangs" or watchmen are allowed to appear in the streets. In order to warn strangers, all the entrances to the exorcised village or district are decorated with wreaths of thorns and leaves and whoever ventures to pass the barrier thus marked is fined by the watchmen, even the prince himself not being exempt. The roads are not open till the third day; even then, buying and selling in the market is forbidden, as also working in the sawahs. The natives never indulge in walking for their pleasure, so they content themselves with filling up the remainder of the time with card- and dice-playing.

Whilst an epidemic is raging, or under any other exceptional circumstances these exorcisms are not considered sufficient and other means are resorted to to appease the "boetas", and then it is that these

sanguinary sacrifices are made and we are afraid that human victims are then offered up.

Dr. Jacobs relates various instances of the fear inspired by the "boetas" and the consequent superstition of the Balinese:

"A woman, who is with child, is very apt during that time to look upon most ordinary events as bad omens. In her imagination she sees hundreds of "kalas", having designs against her life or that of her child or wanting to take her period of pregnancy one of great anxiety. The whining of a dog, the croaking of a bird, the action of a crater, etc., all fill her with fear; her personal enemies, even the people with whom she has been on friendly terms, try to bewitch her so as to endanger her life or her child's, and then in her despair she frequently resorts to some known means and offers up her unborn child in order to save her own life.

"Should a Balinese woman give birth to twins of different sexes—curiously called "kembar boentjing", ('twin flowers' or 'twin brides') —she is taken forthwith to the churchyard after her confinement and the children are carried to her; here she must remain for three months in a hastily built hut and her food is brought to her. Her house is burned to the ground, thus forcing her husband and other members of the family to seek a home elsewhere; the dessa in which the house stands has to be cleansed; the temples of the dessa, excepting those dedicated to the memory of the dead, remain closed for 60 days; innumerable offerings are made and the dessa, as well as the mother and children are sprinkled with holy water (toja tirta); and all this is done in order to wipe out the incest committed in the mother's womb. Only the wife of the prince or of a Brahmin is exempt. It is easy to understand, says Dr. Jacobs, that this religious ceremony in many cases, demands the sacrifice of a human life.

"Should a woman—or yet a domestic animal—give birth to misformed offspring, this is looked upon as a warning that some calamity is about to befall her dessa and the prince has at once to be informed of the fact; he then commands a religious ceremony, called "prajastiata," to take place, in order to propitiate the gods.

"If a woman dies in state of pregnancy, her body is not allowed either to be buried or to be burnt, but as a sign of the greatest contempt, it is hurled down a precipice, or placed in an open grave or hole two feet deep, this, according to Balinese notions, being the greatest dishonour that can be shown to any one. No exceptions are made in these cases, the same fate befalling princesses."

In the same measure as the Balinese look upon it as a great favor of the gods to have many children, especially sons, or to have the children "selat boenga", (that is, alternate boy and girl) so do they equally despise a woman who is childless. Naturally the fault lies with her and her husband has therefore the right to leave her. Needless to say that newly-married couples are most profuse in their offerings to the patron god of hymen, Dewa Boetoehaja or Dewa Sanbangan!

The treatment of all illnesses is very simple; either the people use some indigenous plant, directions for the inward and outward application of which are contained in a recipe book called "oesada", or they offer sacrifices to the gods and the "baljan" (native doctor) mutters some invocations from the "mantras" (secret writings). Witchcraft—"nglèjak"—is the chief source of all sickness. If it can be proved (!) that any one has by means of sorcery brought illness or misfortune on another, that person is banished from the kingdom; formerly the penalty of death was inflicted. Sorcery is not foreign to the Hindu belief, and is probably entirely of Hindu origin, thinks Dr. Jacobs.

If the "baljan" is unsuccessful in his treatment, then it must be a "kala" that is opposed to the recovery or has lodged himself inside the patient. It not only happens that the "boetas" look upon men as their dwelling-places, but sometimes in obedience to the gods they assume the shape of noxious animals like monkeys, tigers, etc., etc., and in this guise they visit men.

Naturally the Balinese entertain a superstitious fear of these animals and never slay them unnecessarily, yet they are not worshipped by them as in India and Further-India. Neither do they worship the "boetas";—they fear them too much. Their images are only tolerated at the entrance of the temples over which they watch, or if within the precincts, they are placed at a distance from the temples.

Just outside the temple gate is a stone alms-chest the 'tangoe'—in which offerings are placed from time to time for the "boeta", who is appointed guardian of the temple. Besides that many private residences are watched over by the "boetas", yet the Balinese never feel quite sure about them, for if anything mysterious happens, the "boetas" are always blamed.... and their favor is again sought for by renewed offerings.

Having done everything to keep the evil spirits at a distance, thought is then given to the remaining duties, and foremost amongst these is "worship of the place of one's origin." Many families have increased so rapidly that it has become impossible to continue living together, or some have left their homes to improve their positions, or out of fear of punishment or from other causes and finally they have become heads of families in other dessas.

As soon as they are able to do so, they build places of sacrifice in the dessas where their forefathers lived, and at certain periods of the year make pilgrimages thither, which are frequently attended by numerous difficulties and dangers, especially where the distances are great.

Temples belonging to the members of one family, "kaboejoetan", are called "poera-dadia" and "poera-iboe" and form the connecting link between the different branches of the scattered stock. For the benefit of their common interests they have instituted societies "seka-dadia", and furthermore they select one from their midst to guard the temple and make all the necessary preparations when the day of sacrifice arrives.

It is impossible to say much harm of a people showing such a spirit of sacrifice and faithful affection for family ties. We think that these grown up children may be made tractable and in time good and faithful subjects of the government, but on one condition only! We will refer to it later and for the present we will try and add to our knowledge of these poor people.

A slight acquaintance with their mode of worship cannot fail to be interesting. Correctly speaking, that is to say according to the teachings of the panditas, there exists only one god, Siva, who is the equivalent of Batara Suria or the sun god, that is, the soul of nature, ruling all the forces of nature. He is the creator, the sustainer, the destroyer. He is addressed by the names of all the Indian gods by the people, who in their childlike ignorance labour under the delusion that there are several different deities. Thus Maheswara, (the great god) the son of Siva, is none other than Siva himself and his wife Uma and his children are simply attributes of his far-reaching supremacy, evidences of his creative power. Likewise Kala, and his wife Durga, with all his followers, "boetas" or rakshas represent nothing more than the capacities of the god to punish, to harm and to destroy.

The large image in the temple represents Siva as seated on a high pedestal with his legs crossed, his arms and ankles profusely adorned with bracelets and anklets; the imprint of the trident is on his forehead and he wears a garland of human skulls round his neck. The symbol of Siva is the Lingam, emblematic of creation, which follows destruction.

For fear of being too discursive, we will not go into many details, but we will just remark that whereas in India "Vishnu" is looked upon as "the lord of the Earth", in Bali he is considered more as "god become man" and occupying a far inferior rank to Siva, and is introduced as the hero in their epics simply to give additional lustre to the teachings of Budha or Siva.

Neither is Brahma ever worshipped, excepting on the occasions of general feasts when one altar is erected in honour of Brahma and Vishnu who share one heaven; and this altar is never of stone and always destroyed again after the solemnities.

According to the panditas Brahma and Vishnu and Siva are co-equal and together constitute the trinity or "Trimurti".

Indra has a third eye like Siva; although one of the inferior gods, he ranks with the Balinese after Siva. He is however looked upon as a malignant deity, and consequently held in great awe; many sacrifices are made to him and he has a temple specially dedicated to him.

'Besides the sun-god,' says Liefrinck, 'who sends plenteous rains to refresh the earth and make the crops grow, or who at times destroys the harvests, the Balinese have peopled nature with numberless other divinities. These gods are supposed to roam about across seas and lakes, resting either in the valleys or in the trees, or else in the houses

or the burial grounds. The habitations of the superior gods are sup-

Stone gate within a Balinese kampong.

posed to be in the mountains, in that chain of mountains which runs through Bali from East to West, in particular the peak of Rindjani,

which rises above Lombock. The simple-minded native, who rarely leaves his dessa and never the island looks up with reverence to these colossal masses, connecting as it were heaven and earth, and always half shrouded in mysterious clouds.

And on the topmost summit, his Olympus, sojourns the supreme god of all the gods!

We will now proceed to describe their mode of worship.

Although the "Oesana Bali" speaks of six great temples in Bali, dedicated to the worship of Siva—probably erected by the Hindu-Javanese at the time of their invasion—and though the princes and notables still continue to make use of them for their sacrifices, these are not the places of common worship. With the Balinese, religion bears the distinct mark of individuality and each person prefers to worship in his own way and at his own convenience and with his own family: hence the prominent place assigned to the "home-temple". *

Each family dwells on its own "pekarangan", (estate, seat) frequently very extensive and always separated from the outer world by a wall high enough to prevent being overlooked.

As we shall often have to refer later on to these "homesteads" enclosed by walls, it will be instructive to hear what Dr. Jacobs says about them:

"Entrance to the enclosure is obtained through a narrow doorway and it is built over with a number of small huts or sheds of wood or clay, representing the respective homes of the various members of the family or household. The space which is left vacant between the house gets filled up with fruit parings and the excrements of both man and beast, heaped-up leaves, etc., and the refuse which is despised as food by the swarms of pigs and dogs and chickens that wander about at leisure, is left to accumulate until it grows to one vast manure heap. The little sheds are small, damp and low; daylight is admitted through the door, and the cracks in the walls and the roof serve as ventilators. In the middle of the square or yard is a sort of "pendopo" where guests are received, but the "balé mambeng", which serves as their sleeping apartment, contrasts favorably, both as regard cleanliness and decorations, with all the rest. Though the "balé mambeng" is considered more especially the guest room, still visitors are frequently housed in other balés. With the exception of the "Oemah-metèn" (private abode), all the little huts are shared in common by the various members of the family and their cattle and poultry, which are allowed to come and go as they please".

In every one of these homesteads a special portion is allotted to the worship of the gods; this portion is walled in and the gateway is protected on each side by stone guardians placed at the entrance. The

* The description of this and other temples is mostly borrowed from Liefrinck.

enclosure shows more signs of care than the homestead itself and trees and flowers are often planted there.

On one or more sides of the walls are rows of little wooden compartments or stone recesses, each one dedicated to some particular deity. The gods are invoked here from time to time, hence the appellation of "pasimpangan", which signifies a place where someone remains temporarily.

Naturally the god "Gunong-Agong" has a "pasimpangan" in every temple, whilst at the same time about ten other gods dwell there too and these may be designated as the special family gods, from whom assistance and counsel is expected in times of difficulty.

On his wedding-day a man at once erects his own little altar—his "sanggah kemoelan", first hurriedly of leaves and branches, later on of bamboo, and only when this falls to pieces through decay is he allowed to replace it by a wooden one.

The women of the household take daily offerings of fruit and flowers and on the birthdays of the gods or of any member of the family, there are special ceremonies and large quantities of incense are consumed.

As regards the men, they are perhaps less assiduous in the fulfilment of their religious duties, still they would never think of starting on a journey without making an offering to the gods and in case of sickness befalling their children they always make offerings to the deities to try and turn aside their displeasure.

Does not this child-like trust and familiarity with the gods speak of the innate goodness of these people?

Just as all matters immediately touching the family are prayed for in these home temples, so all things concerning more general business are prayed for in the "dessa" temple, which is for the common use.

The greater part of these temples—also called 'Prajangan' or 'poera' or 'poeri' *—are composed of two or three different enclosures surrounded by walls.

The exterior of these walls built of brick is decorated with carved Hindu figures.

Admission to the first enclosure is obtained through a narrow door, the "tjandi bentar". The most conspicuous object here is the waringin tree, the sacred tree of the Hindus, but the space is not much utilized; sometimes it contains a "balé" or "pendopo", where discussions or conferences are held.

A stone gateway, generally in pyramid shape and provided with a small ornamental door, leads to the second enclosure, which in a half and half sort of way is considered to be the temple. In this precinct assemblies are held, preparatory arrangements for festivals and sacrifices and sometimes even oaths are taken here.

Still, in cases of the three higher classes of Balinese—(about their caste later on)—this is only done at the cross-ways of a public road.

* "Prajangan" is correctly speaking the general name for places where the gods are worshipped in common. "Poera" means the same thing, but does not always refer to a temple; we know that the residences of the princes and notables are called "Poeris".

The swearing or taking of an oath with the Balinese, has a different meaning to what we understand thereby, with them it means: "the denial of an accusation". An oath thus taken sets at naught the verdict of any judge, even though one should be convinced that it is a false oath. But the perjurer is severely punished and does not escape from the anger of the gods.

The temple proper, separated from this second enclosure by a second wall with stone gateway, is composed of endless small shrines for the gods. The simplest are small wooden or stone recesses, placed on pedestals of the same level. On a higher level, which is reached by means of steps, are small compartments for the higher gods—these compartments are roofed with tiles and have miniature doorways leading into them.

The highest kind of house for the gods is the "meroe";—borrowed from Hinduism—It consists of a little wooden erection with from three to eleven pyramidical raised roofs, placed one over the other and getting smaller and smaller as they near the top.

The red brick walls decorated with carvings and adorned with figures in bas relief representing characters in Hindu history; the doorways adorned with flowers and foliage, all point to a strongly developed artistic feeling in these people, the more so that the implements with which all this arduous work has been accomplished were of the most primitive kind.

The actual offerings are seldom made here—at least less often than in the home temples—and as a rule it is only when there is a full moon or a new moon or some special day which is considered as particularly marked out to obtain favors of the gods.

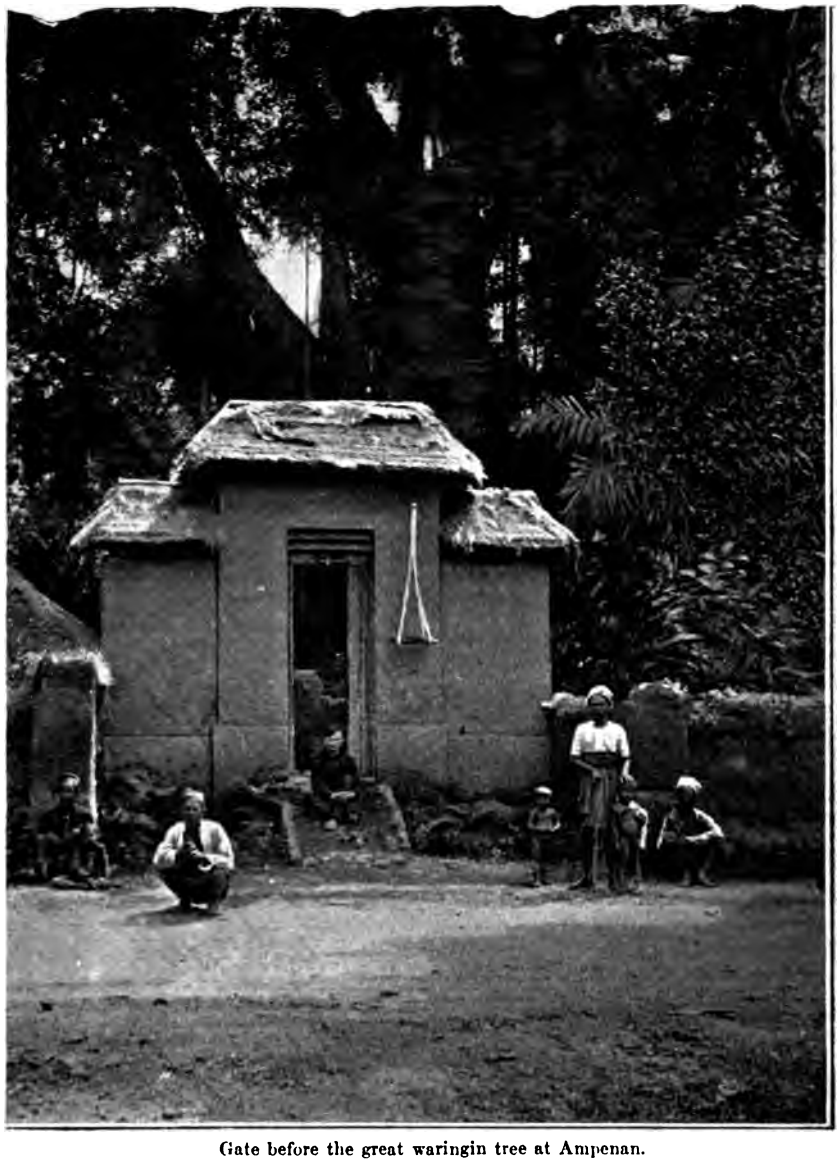
In every temple there are one or more images, not much bigger than a doll you could carry in your hand, and they are made of "kepengs" (tiny copper coins). The belief is that the gods enter into these images when they wish to leave the temples and be conveyed to the sea-shore or the river.

The Balinese look upon their divinities as invisible beings, who have fixed places of abode but are not bound to remain there. The other wooden or stone images found in the temples do not represent the gods, but as a rule personages from some of their legends and they serve as watchers over the temple.

They enter into communication with their gods upon every important circumstance of their lives; in prosperity and in adversity; at the beginning of their agricultural labours, when building a new house, or at the commencement of any undertaking the Balinese never fail to consult the gods.

In the neighbourhood of all these temples there is generally a big tree and failing that, a wooden or stone pillar, containing a small recess; this is supposed to be the abode of the "taksoe" or intermediary, also an invisible being, not possessing divine power, but who transmits the wishes of men to the deity.

When the members of the dessa come to the temple to consult the god, they place themselves on the ground close to where the "taksoe" dwells. By previous offerings they have sought to make him favorably inclined to their requests and now they implore of him to enter the



Gate before the great waringin tree at Ampenan.

body of one of those present in worship; meanwhile all are being prepared to receive the spirit by the copious use of incense and by oft repeated formulas of invocation.

At a given moment one of those present loses consciousness—there

is nothing new under the sun—and begins making spasmodic movements—; this betokens that the "taksoe" has entered his body.

The first question put to the individual possessed, is, whether the god they want to invoke is present in the temple and whether he is ready to listen to them.

After some little lapse of time—the "taksoe" is delivering the message to the deity and waiting for the reply—the answer is given by the mouth of the privileged patient, and the "taksoe" having fulfilled his earthly mission quits his temporary earthly dwelling and the "dessa" man regains consciousness.

The deity has declared his willingness to receive audiences; how are the offerings made to him and how are the prayers of these poor mortals conveyed to him?

It is natural that these should be fitting occasions for the requisition of the priest's services. *

What are they like, these Brahminical priests or padandas? In what does their office consist?

The principal distinguishing mark of a "padanda" is the tightly drawn-back hair, tied up in a roll or coil, in which more often than not are one or two lotus flowers—the sacred flowers of the Hindu, the symbol of the sun, who calls them to the water's surface when he rises and bids them disappear when he sets.

He wears his sarong falling to his feet, not drawn up like the other Balinese. He never walks in the street without his crook, which is a little taller than he is himself. Whilst performing the sacred rites in the temple he wears rich and costly robes. It would take too long to describe these in detail, so we will content ourselves with quoting from Friederich as to how he acquits himself of his duties in the service of the temple:

"The 'padanda' is then clothed in white, the upper part of the body is naked according to the Balinese-Indian custom. He sits facing the East; on a wooden board in front of him are vases containing water and some flowers, a few grains of rice, a chafing-dish and a bell. Whilst mumbling some incomprehensible words or prayers from the Veda, he dips the flowers into the water and then with the thumb and forefinger of his right hand he waves towards the East, while he stirs up the contents of the chafing-dish and mixes a few grains of rice with the fire. Having continued in prayer for some time, and

* There are persons—a few, called "permas"—who are preordained to serve as earthly temples for the gods.

When therefore any one desires to take counsel with the gods, the "perma" is requested to come to the temple. Sometimes he swoons even before leaving his house. In that case he is carried to the temple with the utmost reverence, so that the god may enter into his body at once. At other times it takes longer for them to become unconscious and then great quantities of incense are used and the patient is surrounded by chanting men and women anxious for him to fall into the desired state. Finally the soul of the "perma" quits his body temporarily, to make room for the "dewa", and any words that may be uttered by the "perma" whilst he is in this trance are said to be spoken by the deity.

making all sorts of gestures with his hands and twirling about some rosary-beads, he finally appears to be possessed with the spirit of divinity. Siva has as it were transferred himself into the padanda. This is further proved by the convulsive movements of the body as he becomes more and more agitated. Now that he is the earthly abode of the god, he not only wafts the flowers towards the East, but also towards his own person to show honour to the divinity who has honoured him with his presence. The bells are not used for the every day ceremonies, but only when there is a new or a full moon and when there are burnt offerings.

"The Padanda is thoroughly purified by these acts of devotion; all his actions, even his partaking of earthly food, are considered sacred. He only has one meal a day and nobody is present excepting his own children, who wait upon him and this is always done in silence. The leavings of his repast are like "amreta" (ambrosia) and are much in demand by every one, even by the princes when they have a "pandada" staying with them or are staying with him, and they eat the broken bits. The water, which the pandada uses during the religious functions, becomes sanctified by the reading of the invocations from the 'Veda' and the people eagerly buy this 'toja tirta' to sprinkle their dead with and to cook the offerings with—and the sale of it brings in a large income to the priest."

Another source of income is the fines imposed on men sentenced to death; the padandas as members of the "kerta" take a tenth part; and generally speaking, when they are raised to the dignity of priesthood the prince either lends them or gives them out and out a slice of "sawah" land.

Their spiritual influence is incalculable; no Balinese would ever entertain the idea of consigning to the earth the mortal remains of any relative without seeking the assistance of the padanda, the intermediary between gods and men and his services are abundantly rewarded by the bestowal of many material proofs of gratitude.

Cremation always takes place under his supervision.

Not a marriage, not a journey, not any work of importance, not even a cock-fight comes off without his approval and blessing.

He is the man of learning, he studies the general and the sacred Kawi literature; he instructs the youthful Brahmins in the knowledge of the Vedas; he is also the astronomer and he it is who regulates the Calendar.

Then he blesses all weapons; every weapon is brought to him first by the manufacturer and then again by the purchaser; he says some prayers over it and it is only then that the weapon becomes of any real value and is strengthened to do its work—in return for this service the padanda is made the recipient of offerings, varying according to the position and means of the donor.

Although the priests enjoy these and other advantages, still the office is not much coveted, and few young Brahmins enter upon this state

before having had their share of this world's pleasures. The privations enjoined upon them are not very many; true they may only have one meal a day and are forbidden the use of beef, pork and chickens—still the prohibition to have more than four wives does not point to a very austere mode of life!

To all outward appearances the padandas have not much influence in worldly matters. This is naturally circumscribed in public, owing to the distinctions of caste, but it is impossible to estimate in how far they bring it to bear in private and there is no doubt, that even in state affairs their influence may be said to be unlimited amongst a people who look upon them as invested with supernatural powers and holding in their hands the destiny of man.

As a rule the Hindu priest is good-natured and tolerant like the doctrine he inculcates; he is the veriest stranger to ambition, for which he usually lacks the energy. Is this perhaps a result of his early student life and his late preferment?

Whatever view may be taken of the position, science owes a debt of gratitude to these men; they it is who have made us acquainted with the condition of the Javanese previous to the introduction of Mohammedism; and they are even now the sole guardians of the ancient literature; we must apply to them for information concerning the Kawi language; and it is they who are still the interpreters of the ancient Hindu laws and institutions, which they have faithfully transmitted from generation to generation.

Their influence over the people is undeniably great and it is a wise policy always to bear this fact in mind!

In addition to the Brahminical priest, there is usually a "pamangkoe" attached to the temples. They are chosen from amongst the people and we shall hear of them later on when describing the mode of government existing in the dessas. Their position towards the gods is a very humble one and in the dessa chronicles they are simply referred to as "djoero sapoehs" (sweeper) of Ida Batara.

Although their daily duties simply consist in sweeping out the temple and keeping watch over the sacred buildings, still the people of the dessa see in a man so intimately associated with sacred things a person of undoubted importance and he is surrounded by a certain amount of reverence even in his every day acts disconnected with his services in the temple and he exercises considerable influence over the inhabitants of his dessa. The pamangkoe shows the utmost indifference for all the gods outside his own dessa, nor does he care for the manner of this outside worship.

As a proof of the strong bond between their religion and their daily life, we will describe how they celebrate a great festival both in the dessa temple and in the home temple.

It is the festival of "Galoengan" or New Year, which recurs every six months, each month consisting of five weeks, making in all about 210 days.

The Javanese and the Malays content themselves with paying visits to their friends and acquaintances on this day, but not so the Balinese; they are only too glad to seize the opportunity of celebrating the opening of the New Year by seasonable festivities. As is customary amongst Christians, so do the Balinese likewise try to arrange their affairs so as to spend the last few days of the old year in the circle of their families—another proof of their love of home—and these days are employed in great preparations for the approaching festival. Every day has its fixed task: on one day the fresh picked fruits are put into barrels, on another the yeast is prepared, on a third the sweetmeats are made in all sorts of quaint shapes and lastly—this always on New Year's Eve—the fatted boar is killed.

Hindoe sacrifice houses at Ampenan.

And the poor are not forgotten either. Various dessa societies send their contributions and the needy even receive their share of the fatted boar!

But New Year's day is before all things a religious festival and here once more every effort is put forth to soothe "the gods and the wicked spirits". According to the teaching of their priests the Balinese ought always on New Year's day to make a pilgrimage to the sacred mountain of "Gunong Agong", in order to return thanks to the gods for the benefits received during the course of the year. As however it would prove a matter of very great difficulty in most cases, a way out of it has been found. A tall bamboo cane, called "pèndjor" is stuck in the ground in front of every homestead and on it is fastened a long piece

of white calico, cut in shape of a home temple; this flag, waving in the air, is saluting the gods of Gunong Agong in the name of the inhabitants and telling them, that although unable to bring their offerings in person, they will not fail in their duties to the family temple and offerings in the shape of "kepengs" are placed on the top of the bamboo cane or "pèndjòr", as they call it.

"After all these preparations", says van Eijck, "Galoengan" has dawned.

"At an early hour every one is up and doing. Towards 8 a.m. the entire family, all dressed in their Sunday best, the girls decorated with rings and flowers, the little boys with their father's krisses, proceed to the home temple to place the prepared meats, with the fruit and flowers on the altars. Then follows a sort of silent ceremony, though not always peaceful and the moment is anxiously awaited when the gods shall signify their acceptance of the offerings.

"Everything is then packed up again and carried home and further preparations are made for the banquet. The busy housewife hastens to collect the least ripe fruit, the most faded flowers, the least sought after sweetmeats from the different dishes and platters and entrusts these to her daughters to distribute amongst the various implements, such as the ploughs, the looms, the rice block, etc., as offerings to the evil spirits, so as to give them no cause for jealousy on this day of "Galoengan". To guard themselves from harm, all the members of the household sprinkle themselves at intervals during the day with "toja tirta", which they have bought from the padanda for a few pence.

"Meanwhile, no matter how enticing may be the 'tjéleng', or how appetizing the sweetmeats, the hour for the feast has not yet struck. After the celebrations in the private temples, it is obligatory for every one to go to the public temple as well."

On the whole the ceremonial here is much the same as that in the private temples; when it is over, the women, before proceeding to their homes, visit the graves of their deceased relatives, where they place cooked rice, flowers and fruit.

This visit leads us up to the subject of the second temple, which is either in or close to every dessa next to the common burying-place, and this temple is called "poera dalem" or "temple of death". The arrangements here are in most respects similar to those of the dessa-temples; the chief divinity here is Durga, the wife of the evil Kala and the head of the Boetas or Rakshas. She is the authoress of all the ills that befall mankind, she rules over the dark powers and her worship is one of mystery; those desirous of learning the art of sorcery (nglèjak) have recourse to her and in addition to their numerous offerings they spend many nights in the temple of death.

She it is who receives the souls of the dead and delivers them over to the judges appointed to decide whether their lives upon earth were such as to entitle them to a place in heaven or whether they are to be doomed to hell.

Lieut. Col. P. VAN LAWICK VAN PABST.

In cases of serious illness Durga is always invoked with great fervour. "When the patient has arrived at such a stage—says Liefrinck—that, although life is not yet extinct, still he is unconscious of what is going on around him, the people think that his soul has already left his body, but is still on earth in the temple with Batari Durga. All hope is not abandoned and the nearest relatives of the sick man go to the much-feared goddess and try by various offerings and promises to obtain the

Dewa temple at Tjakranagara.

release of the soul. They remain in her temple indifferent to time, until the divinity shall either intimate through the oracle what the necessary means for recovery are, or until it becomes apparent that all hope must be relinquished.

Besides the temples already named, there are others maintained by the dessas and these are dedicated to the sea-god "poera segara" or to the god of the hills "poera boekit", and are situated either on the sea shore or in the woods or on the top of a hill. These gods not having any permanent abodes and only visiting these temples at intervals, the periods of their visits are chosen for the faithful to make pilgrim-

ages there and they go in procession carrying all the other gods in gorgeous array to do them honour.

The task of erecting these temples is oftentimes most arduous, but neither the inhabitants of the hills, nor the inhabitants of the coast allow any obstacles to stand in their way and the dwellers on the hill have their temple on the coast, and those on the coast have one in the hills.

Finally there are certain special temples built by certain families, which for some reason or another are interested in having one and they form themselves into a "society" or "pamaksan", so that their combined efforts may secure the building of a "poera pamaksam"; and these are often met with in the different dessas.

Thus the agricultural and soebak societies have temples of their own, dedicated to certain gods, as we shall see.

In the sawahs one frequently comes across "bedoegoels", viz., small temples dedicated to "Uma", the wife of Siva, and goddess of fertility, of the crops, of abundance, of happiness. Her attire is similar to that of Siva.... her attitude, that of a "ronggèng" or dancing-girl, is less modest; but according to Tonkes, viewed from the standpoint of Malay morals, the religious feeling is supposed to express itself by the twisting about of hands and arms.

True, "to the pure-minded, all is pure", yet one cannot fail to be struck by the mixture of immorality and religion existing amongst the Balinese. It is evident that the Hindus, when introducing their pure teaching to the island, were obliged to take into consideration not only the very low standard of morality, but the sensuality of the early religion.

One of the chiefs institutions of Hindu origin and one that is deeply rooted in the entire race is the spirit of caste.

In principle the caste divisions are the same in Bali and Lombock as in India. The "Brahmins", from amongst whom the priests are chosen, occupy the highest rank; the second rank comprises the "Kshatryas", formerly consisting only of warriors, from amongst whom the princes were originally selected; the third division or "Vaisyas" were originally the class of merchants and husbandmen, who however rose so high in Lombock and Bali that the rulers were taken from this class; whilst all who belong to none of these classes, forming as it were the nobility, are reckoned among the Sudras. *

As in India these castes are again subdivided; but the custom still in force there, that the members of each caste only follow certain avocations, is no longer extant in Bali and Lombock, where all, even the priests, are more or less occupied in agricultural pursuits.

Was the original introduction of these caste divisions intended to create an impassable barrier between the high rank of the priests and nobles and the inferior rank of the masses?

* According to the "Oesana Bali" the Brahmins proceed from the mouth, the Kshatryas from the arm, the "Vaisyas" from the thigh, and the Sudras from the foot of Brahma.

It is more than probable; for there has never been any hesitation or shrinking from anything likely to foster such results.

Mother Nature, however, did not draw such fine distinctions, for she made all her children—Brahmins as well as Sudras—on the same pattern and in Bali even the clothes do not make the man.... nor the woman!

The every-day clothing of the Balinese man is composed simply of a piece of blue calico falling from the hips to the knees and kept up by a waist-cloth—sabock—and this he changes every five or six months. On solemn occasions he adds to this scanty attire a "sarong" or "sapoet", coming from the breast to the knees. He always carries his ever faithful "kris" in his sabock.

The princes and nobles also go about with the upper part of the body exposed; naturally in their case, the "kambèn" is of finer material and is wound round the body oftener, the waistband is more ornamental and is interspersed with gold and silver threads, the sarong is very costly, and the handle of the kris is beautifully ornamented—but then all these things do not go to form a different type of man.

The women's dress is also very plain and the same for all: two kambèns, one over the other, a red one on top of the blue one, reaching to about a few inches below the knee and held up at the waist by the "sabock"; the under one, the shorter of the two is never changed, but worn until it drops to bits; the upper one, has a slit on the left side; further a "selendang"—called here a "tenkaloeng"—is worn across the shoulders and that is the entire costume. The sarongs are drawn up to the arm-pit by the women in the palaces or by women nursing their children. On feast-days the girls and newly-married women wear silver and gold bands round their arms and legs and in their hair they put variegated flowers in great profusion; but as a rule very slight attention is paid to hair-dressing.

Children—boys and girls alike—run about naked until their seventh or eighth year.

Although to all outward appearances there is so little distinction between the castes, that,—according to Dr. Jacobs—on meeting a stranger the first question put by a Balinese is invariably: "Antoeh linggih?"—what caste do you belong to?—still the Brahmins—the law-makers, have taken good care that for all practical purposes a solid line of demarcation should exist.

Unions have been allowed between men of the upper classes and women belonging to the Sudra caste, and their children have been raised to the rank of the father; but should a woman of the higher castes venture to love a man beneath her, she is sentenced to death at once. A girl of the Brahmin caste who should so far forget herself is burnt to death and her lover is sewn in a sack, weighted with stones and thrown into the sea. In the districts of Boelèleng and Djembrana now under our rule, the death sentence is commuted by the "kerta"—court of justice—to life-long exile from the island of Bali.

A girl belonging to the 2nd or 3rd class in whom the offence is not looked upon as so heinous is only "krissed"!

That this barbarous practice is entirely in unison with the customs and feelings of the majority of the upper classes is proved by the fact, that the parents of a girl, who has thus disgraced her family, feel no grief at seeing her put to death, although in other matters of morality their ideas are rather far advanced, as we shall see later on.

The principle of "the same rights for all" is unknown amongst the different castes; for instance no Sudra would think of sitting on anything raised above the ground if anyone of a higher caste were sitting on a mat. There is no doubt that round this question of "sitting high or low", revolves the important mystery of Balinese etiquette!

It is in the administration of the law that the distinction of caste is most noticeable, for the penalty for crime is always fixed in exact opposition to the rank of the delinquent; for the same crime a man of low rank would receive heavy punishment, whereas a man of high rank would receive a light one.

How does the administration of justice take place?

In so far as it is possible all disputes are settled by the administrators of the dessas or soebaks. Matters of serious import or cases where an agreement has not been arrived at in the dessas, are submitted to the prince's decision.

The verdict of the prince is as a rule the result of advice from the padandas. Three or more of these form the "kerta" or tribunal. The litigants are assisted by "kantjas" or lawyers. Van Bloemen Waanders relates anent the sittings of "kertas", how on the appointed day, both parties appear before the tribunal accompanied by their lawyers. No one speaks. At a signal given by one of the judges, the lawyer of the plaintiff writes down his charge on a lontar-leaf and throws it across to the defendant's "kantja", who makes use of the same means to convey his reply. This interchange of notes continues as long as anything remains to be written on either side and when they have done, the sheets (or rather leaves) are gathered up and placed before the judges in the order they were written; a decision will be given after their perusal and a few moments' deliberation.

How enviable is such a short road to justice! But the question remains, "is it justice"?

Although in former times the decision lay with the judges, that custom has fallen into disuse now, and it is the princes who give a final decision.

The codes—also written on lontar-leaves—according to which judgment is given, are the "pas' wara g'de" (the actual code of Bali) and the "agama," or old Hindu law-books. The contents of these are not founded upon the adats (customs) of the Balinese people, but on the contrary are very much at variance with them.

The Balinese are particularly attached to their own local customs and are very much averse to having recourse to this supreme court;—

the priests themselves only partly understand the laws as they are written and which are more often than not in contradiction to one another;—so that it is a well-known fact that unless the passions are very much roused or there is a determined desire to settle matters at any cost, the people never appeal to the decision of the "kerta". It is after all only a leap in the dark, for no one can say how the prince may be influenced, and the penalties are unusually severe, especially for the lower classes.

Adultery, incest, high treason are punished by immediate death, either by the kris, or being bound hand and foot and thrown into the sea.

Zollinger relates, that the father of one of the Rajahs of Mataram was forced to put his own wife to death, although nothing could be proved against her, excepting that she had made a young man a present of some sirih leaves; but there the sending of this present might be construed as a declaration of love!

The law is especially inexorable in cases of incest, which crime is very prevalent among the Balinese. Zollinger tells us that the last king of Karangassim was compelled to order five of his own children to be drowned, charges of guilt having been brought against them.

No matter what accusation be brought against a Brahmin, the death penalty is never passed on him.

Murders and thefts committed during the night are liable to very severe penalties, which are however frequently remitted on payment of an exorbitant fine; in cases where the accused cannot pay, he is krissed.

If a Brahmin murders a Sudra, he is ordered to pay a small fine; or should he insult a man of inferior rank, the same penalty is inflicted, whereas under identical circumstances the Sudra would be heavily mulcted. Inability to do so means being krissed—or sometimes a lighter punishment is substituted and the accused has his tongue cut out!

We think that these few illustrations will sufficiently indicate the spirit of the law in Bali; we refer those of our readers, who wish to obtain further details, to the article of Heer van Bloemen Waanders.

Matters are sometimes more serious still, that is when the priests are not consulted at all and the prince, without any kind of formality whatever, imposes a punishment, which is generally speaking much more severe than anything contained in the code.

The old Rajah of Lombock must have been most arbitrary and certain forms of death, such as crucifixion and dismemberment still occur there, though seldom heard of in Bali now.

Later on we shall have occasion to refer to the boundless cruelty of Anak Agung Madé.

The distinction of caste is strongly emphasised by the language itself; to begin with, the mode of address varies: a man of the highest caste is always spoken to as "Ida," one of the second as "Dewa" and one of the third as "Gusti;" in speaking to women of these three castes, these appellations are followed by the additional word or syllable

"Ayoe". In speaking of the Sudras, the little word "hi" is prefixed to men's names and "ni" to women's. If there are several sons, the titles of "Ida", "Dewa" or "Gusti" are followed by "Poetoe" or "G'dé", for the eldest son, "Madé" for the second, "Njoman" for the third and "K'toet", for the fourth—so that two titles always precede the actual family name. The eldest son of a Sudra is called "Wajau", the second "Nengah", etc. It frequently occurs that at the birth of the first child the parents add his name to theirs with the additional word Pan (father) or Mèn (mother).

For Europeans it is at times most difficult, almost impossible, to know a man's caste; on such occasions it is always safe to address the person as "djero."

Any one belonging to a lower caste invariably speaks to a person of higher caste in high Balinese; a person of a higher caste addresses one of a lower class in low Balinese. Exception of course is made for the princes and their families, who, as we have said before frequently belong to the third class—they are always spoken to in high Balinese. Strangers or foreigners are considered on a level with the Sudras and are always addressed in low Balinese. This is not very flattering, considering the slight esteem in which the Sudras are held by the higher classes, who look upon them as people of no position whatever and speak of them as "pengèn"—which means "beasts of burden." And in reality that is just what they are! From their birth they bear the stamp of servitude; it is they who are the "pengajahs"—the vassals or bondsmen.

One year after marriage every young man becomes a "pengajah", and retains the privilege (!) until he is old and worn out, or has become the father of married sons, or is left a widower without sons, . . . or has offered his wives as slaves to the prince!

Until such periods be reached he has to keep the princely residence in repair, as also the small temples and the roads and bridges, and furthermore he has to attend to the cock-fights; he must be ever ready to act as body-guard or coolie and to accompany the prince and the poenggawas on their journeys and even to war, if called upon to do so, etc.

Not even death, the leveller, can bridge the impassable gulf existing between the castes. Most unfavorable conditions are imposed upon the Sudras as regards the inheritance of both land and money; in the burial places each caste has its own allotted space; while cremation is being performed a special sort of bier serves to notify that it is only the body of a Sudra that is being burned; true, his soul must be liberated, but still it is not intended that it shall return to the earth in some superior rank as do the souls of the higher castes.

It is noteworthy that in Bali, where our influence has somewhat smoothed the sharp angles of caste distinctions and where the numbers of the higher castes are insignificant as compared with the entire population, instances are to be found where influential Sudras have attained

important positions and have been created poenggawas or heads of districts. Doctor Jacobs says that these are very exceptional cases, the princes being averse to encouraging this sort of promotion, as the three higher castes owe no obedience to these Sudra-poenggawas.

In the island of Lombock such appointments are unknown.

Here we see the comparatively small proportion of conquerors maintaining with rigid severity their superiority in all their dealings with the people. Liefrinck remarks that the notables are frequently to be seen standing in front of their dwellings with a spear in their hands or going to work in the sawahs with krisses in their belts, so as to be at all times prepared to defend their rights, should any one think of assailing them.

Cremation is another institution of Hindu origin.

What was taught concerning immortality centuries and centuries before our era by the great and wise Yajnawalkya in the Brahmanas and Upanishads?

"As a piece of salt dissolves in water in such a manner as to make it impossible to take it out again and as the water becomes thoroughly permeated with the salt wherever you taste it, so is it with the "Atman", the great being, a mass of knowledge drawn from the creatures of the earth, to whom he again imparts it. That great being, endless, boundless, penetrates, permeates everything as does the salt the water. As long as they remain united, they constitute one whole, although the mind may be able to distinguish them. Thus it is with the soul and the body. At his birth man is endowed with consciousness; at his death consciousness leaves him: but it cannot therefore be said that it is lost to him."

The idea of Resurrection or Transmigration of Souls not only formed the basis of the forementioned writings, but it also served in the foundations of later Budhism and other Indian worships. The Atman, of himself pure and spotless as the light of the sun, becomes sullied by union with matter—the body. Just as towards twilight the clear white tints of day are tinged with the lovely yet treacherous red of night, so is the primeval purity of the soul overshadowed by the allurements of the senses, which lead to the commission of acts contradictory to its real nature. Atman is pursued and overtaken by the calamities inseparable from sin. To escape these he must return once again to a state of original purity, he must learn to know himself, and by this means only can he be freed from the painful bonds of matter—the body.

The highest goal of man therefore, is to strive for deliverance; until this be obtained he continues a prisoner in the bonds of matter, from which death itself is powerless to release him. For even when the union between Atman and the body is dissolved, man is not spotless enough to resume his original state. After a period of more or less duration he is again united to some substance or other, of lower or higher degree according to the manner in which his previous life has been spent.

He, who was once a human being may be born again in a higher rank, or he may, in punishment for his evil deeds, be born amongst the lower species.

The countless numbers of dogs that wander about the Balinese kampongs are looked upon as beings come back to earth to serve their term of punishment, and therefore no one would think of molesting them.

The good deeds, which are to be performed by man during his lifetime, are clearly indicated in the Indian philosophical treatises, the Upanishads, which inculcate a very high standard of morality—but of course our space does not admit of our enlarging upon the subject. We will only mention that it is taught therein that, although society is a true school where all these virtues can be practised, still it is too filled with distractions to allow of quiet thought and contemplative philosophy. Thus in this religion we find that monastic life for both men and women is very largely developed; the climate and the few wants of these people adding very materially to the numbers. Naturally it would have been impossible for the majority to have embraced this life; it was declared possible for the three highest castes to achieve the highest goal in society by knowledge.

The Sudras, who were excluded from the study of the sacred books, were therefore denied the right to strive after deliverance in this world. To obtain this privilege it wasi ncumbent upon them to die and be born again to a higher caste; the Brahmins on the other hand were exempt from any purifying process: the spirit once freed stood in no need of resurrection.

How then was this separation of the body and the soul accomplished? By cremation. As long as this remained undone the spirit was unable to enter its new organism or higher state. The moral duty of cremation rested upon all believing Hindus, who more than any other people are deeply imbued with a spirit of reverence for their dead, a reverence bordering on worship!

There is much to admire in this conception! The precept was a simple one and might have been carried out with simplicity.

All idea of simplicity has been abandoned; cremation is a very costly ceremonial, involving extravagant offerings and feastings, and exorbitant tributes to the padandas, sometimes amounting to hundreds of florins.... it is self-evident that the simple inhabitant of the dessa is unable to meet the expenses that would be incurred by these rites. Therefore the function is postponed.... in course of time some of them unite and share the expenses of the ceremonial, which is performed to show honour to all the deceased relatives, of those who are able to contribute towards the outlay.

Let us see what is done with the body during the interim between death and cremation. It is washed and then wrapped in a kain (cloth) and placed on a bier amidst the wailings of the family, who bring their offerings; for a time he will require nourishment, as he is not yet cut off from all earthly ties. On the day fixed for the funeral

the body sheltered by a big "pajong" (umbrella) is taken to the burial ground—sema—amidst the chanting of members—all sorts of religious bodies—and is laid in a grave about two feet deep and then covered with earth.

At the head of the grave they place a bamboo cane, supporting a little niche for food which is brought from time to time during the beginning of the delay, caused by the reason we have just mentioned.

When the time has come that the family itself or the united members of the dessa can defray the expenses of cremation, then, if the place can be found, the body or what remains of it, is dug up—sometimes they have to content themselves with a handful of soil. If they cannot find the spot where the body has been buried, well, then they simply carve a wooden image, upon which the rites of cremation are performed!

Princes and those belonging to the higher castes, with whom money is plentiful, are not subjected to a preliminary burial and their souls are allowed to quit their bodies within a reasonable time of their demise. Immediately after death the body is washed and perfumed, tightly incased in matting, and covered with white and coloured kains, sometimes very costly ones, and then it is laid between bamboo laths and placed in a balé bandoeng, generally within the enclosure of the homestead itself, but always on an eminence; after that it is weighted down with some very heavy object, so that the moisture caused by dissolution may the more easily escape. This moisture from the corpse is carefully kept in vases placed under the balé and is very highly valued. A man is appointed to keep watch * over the dead body and his duties are to besprinkle the remains with toja-tirta about every five days and to take precautions that none of the moisture from the corpse is lost. †

By degrees, says Dr. Jacobs, the body begins to be mummified by the continuous nauseous stench and the heavy weights....

Finally, sometimes after months of waiting, for the preparations for the ceremony are lengthy, the body is transferred to the badé or wadah, where cremation takes place.

Before describing how this rite is carried out, we must draw attention to the fact that not all persons are allowed to be cremated; and foremost amongst these are those who have been condemned to death by the law. May we not therefore justly conclude from this fact that the infamous Gusti Madé, natural son of the old Rajah of Lombock, was krissed by order of the prince himself? Under no other circumstances would he have permitted the remains to be thrown into the sea, thus preventing all chance of Gusti Madé ever going to heaven, which was only attainable by cremation.

* Where slavery has not been abolished this task is performed by a slave, who is afterwards granted his freedom.

† This custom is not prevalent among the Hindu-Balinese only. Dr. Jacob tells us that the early Balinese,—who neither buried their dead nor cremated them, but placed them outside the dessa—were in the habit of washing the corpse and that the water used for this purpose was afterwards used in cooking a large quantity of rice, to eat which, all the members of the family and their friends were invited.

People who die of small-pox are not cremated and the number of these is very great both in Bali and Lombock; the disease is very prevalent * in the islands and it is thought that the measure was decided upon for sanitary reasons, although much benefit could not be derived from the alternative custom of placing the body in an open grave or throwing it down a precipice. In Boeléleng and Djembrana, districts under our immediate administration, the bodies are taken out of the open graves after a few days, and after being properly washed are buried for good.

In cases of leprosy cremation may not take place immediately, but the bodies are buried and remain in the earth for certain defined periods, varying according to caste—thus a Brahmin must wait ten years and a Sudra twenty-five years before being permitted to undergo the purifying process. And as we said before a woman, who dies in state of pregnancy, is denied cremation.

Let us now see how this rite of cremation is performed.

"The Kotta, says Dr. Jacobs, was gaily adorned in holiday garb, processions were advancing in every direction, here and there were kiosks adorned with gold and silver tinsel and bright flowers and all day long there were gamboeh and wajang performances, where the djogeds and lègongs displayed their musical and dancing talents. All this however, was not in honour of the prince's guests, but to celebrate a grand cremation festival, which was to take place in three or four days' time, on which occasion one of the prince's brothers, who had been dead two months and one of his concubines (selir) who had been dead seven months, were to be cremated, both bodies being still above ground....

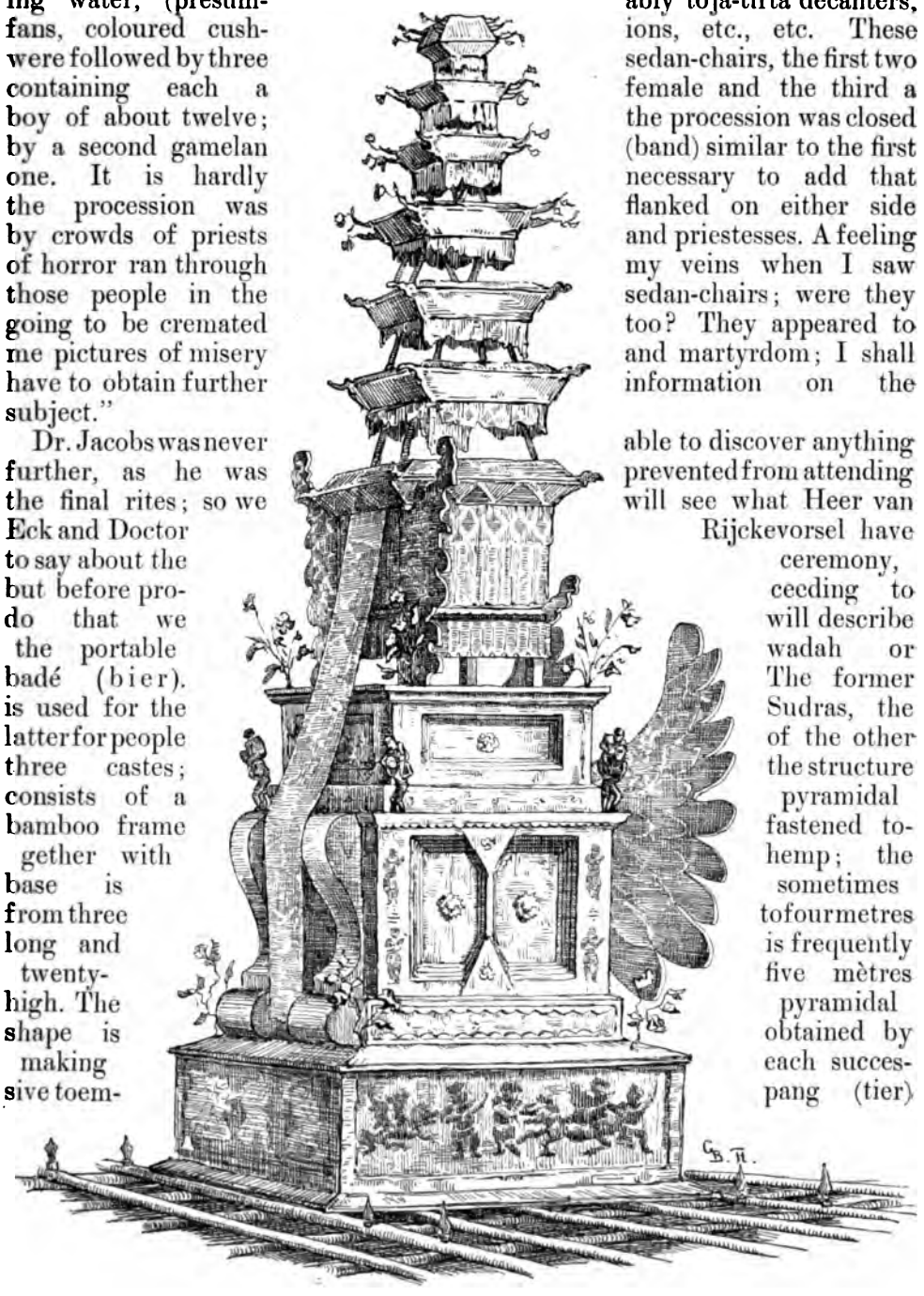
"In front of the house where the remains were deposited and which was easily recognizable by the two big Chinese lanterns hanging outside, a continual series of dancing performances was being executed, in which two of the king's sons were taking part.... this part of the town (Jabanan, capital of the little kingdom of same name) was almost impassable....

"One of the processions is about to pass. First of all came eight men armed with muskets, which they kept incessantly loading and discharging; they were followed by thirty more carrying long bamboo canes, fastened to which were branches of dry palm leaves; behind these came a gamelan-tjoemangkirang, consisting of gongs and kromongs, which were beaten without interruption; after this band walked twenty men, carrying on the top of long bamboo canes sundry pieces of wearing apparel, copies in miniature of the clothes worn by the deceased; some men were carrying old chairs or other articles of furniture, I saw one with a toilet-glass; next came a padanda-istri (a female priest) with a sanctimonious-looking pinched-up face and heading a long line of women carrying the insignia of the late prince, such as decorated krisses, and

* Dr. Jacob's mission to Bali was to introduce measures against this disease and to insist upon vaccination becoming more general.

all imaginable and unimaginable kinds of drinking-glasses, mostly containing water, (presumably toja-tirta decanters, fans, coloured cushions, etc., etc. These were followed by three sedan-chairs, the first two containing each a female and the third a boy of about twelve; the procession was closed by a second gamelan (band) similar to the first one. It is hardly necessary to add that the procession was flanked on either side by crowds of priests and priestesses. A feeling of horror ran through my veins when I saw those people in the sedan-chairs; were they going to be cremated too? They appeared to me pictures of misery and martyrdom; I shall have to obtain further information on the subject."

Dr. Jacobs was never able to discover anything further, as he was prevented from attending the final rites; so we will see what Heer van Eck and Doctor Rijckevorsel have to say about the ceremony, but before proceeding to do that we will describe the portable wadah or badé (bier). The former is used for the Sudras, the latter for people of the other three castes; the structure consists of a pyramidal bamboo frame fastened together with hemp; the base is sometimes from three to four metres long and is frequently twenty-five mètres high. The pyramidal shape is obtained by making each successive toem-pang (tier)



The Badé.

smaller and smaller, and each one represents a small temple. The number of "toempangs" varies according to the caste of the deceased; thus the one erected for Tabanan consisted of seven "toempangs," whilst that of the concubine only had five; the Dewa-agong of Kalong-kong has a right to eleven. The poor ill-used Sudra is not permitted to have a single one. In the very top compartment of all there is a bed of repose on which the body of the defunct is laid.

In case of the Sudras the bed of repose is covered over, to prevent the holy rays of the sun shining on the unholy body of a person of low degree. The priests are however exempt from this last injury; their remains are exposed to the heavens and their resting place is constructed after the model of Siva's seat.

Griffin.

The bamboo framework, which is ornamented with colossal monsters, wilmanas and garoedas (griffins) and dragons' heads, etc., is covered over with white linen, variegated flowers and all sorts of coloured ribbons, whilst sundry illustrations from their hero legends and oftentimes very obscene facts of every day life—so that the people should not feel too depressed—form a strange picture of this curious religion, so closely blending the sublime with the frivolous. All the tiny doors and pillars of the "toempangs" and every small space that is available are covered with gold tinsel; here and there are added little bannerets of coloured silk and hundreds of little square looking-glasses in gilt frames give a very effective finishing touch to the whole arrangement.

The day previous to the final rite is devoted by the priests to the "washing" of the corpse, which betokens, that when the deceased returns to the earth under a new form, he will have lovely eyes, well-made ears, etc., and these ablutions are followed by a sort of absolution, the priest declaring the defunct now free from all sin.

Amidst extraordinary tumult and uproar the corpse is conveyed from its temporary resting place to the ready prepared "wadah." As soon as

the body is laid on the bed of repose, all those who have helped to carry it up descend, only one remaining in charge, holding in his hand an open pasong (umbrella) to signify that only one ray of sun shall penetrate to the "balé-baléjan," (this is the name of the bed of repose). Whilst he tries to settle himself as best he may in his elevated position, from fifty to a hundred men raise the structure on to their shoulders and proceed slowly to the square in front of the prince's residence or the dessa chief's, and walk round it in procession, so that the deceased, whose soul is still present, may have an opportunity of once more bidding farewell to his friends. This formality concluded, the procession proceeds to the Sema, (crematorium) and the body is carried down and placed in a kind of chest,* where for the last time the priest sprinkles it with "toja-tirta." We, Europeans, who were present at this ceremony tried to keep at a safe distance, but evidently the "holy" man is possessed of olfactory organs different to ours, for nothing daunted, he stooped over the remains and read the prescribed formula over N.N. From time to time an assistant handed him a vase containing the toja-tirta; this vase may only be used once for this purpose, after which it is flung on the ground and smashed to bits.

"Meanwhile two men are waiting to hear the padanda pronounce the last words, and then they immediately kindle the wood under the trough and under the wadah; in a few moments a loud crackling announces that the flames are spreading; this sound is the signal for the afflicted members of the family and their guests to take their departure with the utmost possible speed. A couple of live hens are tied to the top of the wadah; they are to assist the departing soul in his flight to heaven and no doubt every one would gladly witness this ascension, but they are all afraid of the evil spirits, who crowd around the Sema to disturb the sacred rites if they can. Only a couple of men stay behind in order to scrape together the ashes of the deceased and place them in a little heap; properly speaking it is their duty to keep watch over them, but they are just as frightened as everybody else and they are grateful to the law, which allows them to substitute an image in their stead. When the kalas come in search of their victim they find that he has flown to higher regions and no living person is visible on whom to vent their wrath!

It is only on the following morning that the family returns to secure the ashes and wrap them up carefully, then with the accompaniment of music and song they carry them solemnly to the shore; here a final religious ceremony is gone through, after which the remains are handed over to a couple of men, who row out to the open sea, where the ashes are consigned to the deep; this last act constitutes the final severance from this earth, but from this watery grave the soul may eventually return with impunity.

But this return may not take place forthwith. Even after the final function, (makirim) several other religious ceremonies in commem-

* It is really a wooden trough supported by four legs and carved in the shape of some animal. Every corpse has a separate trough.

oration of the dead are performed, and before the conclusion of all these, the departed soul may not revisit the earth. It does sometimes happen that the deceased member of some family grows impatient and returns too soon; but then this is always followed by the death of the infant into whose body such a soul shall have entered. The instances in which a Balinese will point out to you a child bearing a striking resemblance to some member of the family dead and cremated years and years before are just as numerous as the instances where the death of a new-born child is ascribed to the impatience of some dead relative to return."

We have given this description at length, because it throws such a strong light on the religious belief, so strangely mixed with superstition, that one finds among these people.

But what about those women in the sedan-chairs? had they really been burned alive?

"Well, no!" that at least was the reply of the Rajah Tabanan. Since the Government have signified to the Balinese princes their disapproval of this hideous practice, it has been discontinued, at least publicly.

But who can say what is done privately and in Lombock, where our authority was so slight?

In order to evade the letter of the law, Dr. Jacob tells us that in Bali, they have succeeded in circumventing it by a practice which is certainly quite as barbarous; when the hour of sacrifice arrives the victims kriss themselves.... this is not prohibited by the law.... and surely.... they are permitted to cremate dead bodies? Zollinger was once present at a kris-feast or festival.... we call it feast for want of a better name, and this is really what it always is.... at least for the spectators. From his account we extract the following:

"A deceased Gusti at Ampenan had left three wives. One of them being childless desired to offer up her life in proof of the love she had borne her husband. (We must remember our previous remark, that the wife was always blamed if there were no children of the marriage.) She considered that by this sacrifice she would be privileged to accompany him on his long journey and be his favorite in another world. After the corpse of the Gusti had been treated as described in the foregoing sketch, the widow was carried on the outstretched arms of her women-friends to the place of execution.

"Her only garment was a piece of white linen; her head was crowned with lovely chrysanthemums; she was perfectly calm and collected and displayed neither fear nor regret. She stood in front of her husband's body, raised her arms on high and prayed in silence. Women approached her and offered her little bunches of red and white flowers; she took them one by one and placed them between the fingers of the hand raised above her head—as she did this the women took them away from her hand and dried them. Every time the widow accepted the flowers and returned them she made a slight movement to the right so that by the time she had had the eighth bouquet, she had turned round completely. She prayed once more in silence, then approached the dead body, kissed the head, the breast, the abdomen, the knees and

the feet and then resumed her place. Her rings were taken off. She crossed her arms across her chest. Two women supported her and then her brother (an adopted one) placed himself opposite to her and asked her in gentle tones if she were determined to die and when she nodded her head affirmatively, he asked her forgiveness for being obliged to kill her—suddenly he grasped his kris and stabbed her in the left side, but not very deep, so she still remained standing; thereupon he flung away his kris and took to flight. Then a man in authority took his own kris and plunged it up to the hilt into the breast of the unfortunate woman, who fell to the ground without a murmur.

"Some women placed her on a mat and tried to make the blood flow as quickly as possible by rolling the body about and squeezing it, but as the victim was not yet quite dead one more kris was thrust into the body between the shoulders. After this she was placed on a resting-place near her husband and the ceremonial that had been performed for him, was now performed for her. When all was over the two corpses were anointed with resin and cosmetics and wrapped in fine linen and then laid in the "balé bandoeng," where they were left until the time appointed for the cremation."

The cost of cremation being considerably greater than that of "krissing," it is only the widows of very wealthy men who can indulge in that luxury. The wives of the priests are spared the trouble of choosing, as they are exempt from both.

Concerning cremation we quote from Friederich, who was present at the cremation of three widows at Giangar:

"A very high scaffolding was erected. Once again the three widows went through endless ceremonials. Then they climbed the scaffolding. They looked at one another to see if they were all ready to die. It was not a look of fear, but a look of impatience to hurl themselves into the flames beneath them. When the planks, saturated with oil, on which they stood were pushed over the fire they executed three "sembahs"—a movement with the hands above the head—and as the doves placed on their heads ascended on high with their souls, they, without a murmur, cast themselves headlong into the flames below.

"The air resounds with music, shouts of joy go forth from every throat, even cannons are fired off . . . . !"

But not always does unconsciousness follow immediately, not always does death put an instantaneous end to their tortures.

Then the most gruesome sights are witnessed. "It must frequently occur," says Dr. Jacobs on the authority of Clavel in his 'History of Religions' „that the women, at the sight of the funeral pyre, try to draw back from their terrible fate; the final struggle must be terrible beyond words when they are accompanied by their children on this last journey; their shrieks of anguish pierce high above the jubilant shouts of the crowd; they implore of their executioners, the priests, who are with them, to let them live for the sake of their children, whom they press to their hearts again and again and who in this last agony have

become doubly precious to them; they try to escape, but their plans are frustated by the priests and the fanaticism of the multitude. . . ."

We learned from the letter of the Sassak chiefs that the princes incited the people to all kinds of gambling, dice-playing and cock-fighting, etc.; that the heads of districts, where these pursuits were not the order of the day, were punished, because the taxes levied on these sports were not productive enough; that, in a word, all sorts of miseries, such as poverty and theft, were the results of such measures and a more intimate knowledge of the Balinese goes to prove that there cannot be much doubt as to the veracity of the complaint. Their whole life, exclusive of their sacrifices and offerings, is composed of feasting, dice-playing and cock-fighting. As we have already given some details of their ceremonials, we will only set forth the following. It appears that the festivals in honour of the Balinese gods last not less than 49 days. An entirely new town is built for the occasion and is afterwards demolished. The population throngs thither from all directions. The Rajahs, the Idas, and the Gustis all have dwellings there. Images, in which the gods are supposed to come and take up their temporary abodes, are manufactured in all sizes both in card-board and in wood and on the last day of the festivities they are all carried in solemn procession to the shore and amidst the saluting of guns and the firing of cannons they are cast into the sea. During these days nothing is done except eating and drinking and dancing and watching the wajangs (Zollinger 1847).

Music and dancing and theatrical performances are very common, the Balinese, even more than the other native tribes, being passionately fond of music and singing. Night after night the "gamelang" is played in the dessas and here they almost surpass those of Java. You may feel sure, says Dr. Jacobs, that hundreds and hundreds sit round the performers for hours, doing nothing but listen to the sweet sounds that the skilful players know so well how to draw forth from their instruments. The Balinese "gamelangs" are divided into different categories according to the occasions on which they are used and are composed of various instruments: thus at Java the well-known "gamelang gambang" is used at burials and cremations, and also for festivals in the temples; then there is the "gamelang tjoemankirang," composed of drums and cymbals, played whilst walking in processions to wedding-parties or on solemn entries to a town; the "gamelang gong," consisting chiefly of loud and heavy-sounding instruments, is played as an accompaniment to national or war dances, and lastly the "semara pagoelingan," the most perfect gamelang of all and which requires about 25 performers, is used mostly to accompany the "ronggengs" and "gandroengs."

The most celebrated of these "ronggèngs—dancing-girls—are the ronggèng-gegoedèns"; they only dance on very solemn occasions and feast-days, and no men are then allowed to participate in the dance. It is only when it is a question of earning money that the "djoged-tongkohan"

appears; when the dance is finished the dancing-boy retires amongst the spectators and is followed by the ronggèng, who goes round to collect money.... as is done in more civilized places in "café-chantants" and music-halls. The "caresses" to which the singing or dancing-girl has to submit—resistance is forbidden—are carried even to greater lengths than in the European establishments.

But the performance of the "gandroengs" or dancing-boys, is very much worse; they are dressed like the girls, in costly sarongs drawn up to under the arms, a broad band round the lower part of the body, round the hips a "salendang;" they glide about gracefully to the sounds of the music, gesticulating with their arms.... the spectators eagerly

"A Gamboeh performance."

crowd around them and offer them kèpengs.... These representations bear undeniable testimony to the very low standard of Balinese morality, especially among the higher castes, who in this particular, are far ahead of the others.

Any one wishing for further information on these subjects can refer to the writings of Dr. Jacob and Heer van Bloemen Waanders.

Besides the "ronggèngs" there are other dancing-girls, the "lègongs," girls of about ten, who are kept exclusively for the princes and live in the poeris and only dance before the princes or their guests of high degree. The dress is the same as that of the "gandroengs."

And further the princes own a special class of girls, forming a large source of income, but of these later....

As far as the theatrical or "gamboeh" performances are concerned, they generally represent some episode of the Hindu period or some battle scene and are mostly given in the Kawi language; the Balinese do not understand that tongue, but the mimicry is so cleverly done, that it leaves no doubt as to its meaning. There is always a "semar" (clown) whose sallies and wit, bear favorable comparison with his European colleagues. Women often act, but sometimes the female parts are taken by boys. According to the late oriental scholar, Dr. Neubronner van der Tuuk, the "gamboeh" is of Lombock origin.

Never is a day allowed to pass without the Balinese paying a visit and making and offering to the god of gambling, Dewa Mosèl. The most common game is dice-playing, and the number of pips decides the game. Various games at cards are well-known, especially those played with Chinese cards. Apparently one game played with Dutch cards is not unknown to the natives, viz. vingt-et-un!

How much has been achieved in the Archipelago in the way of civilization!!!

It is the "tetadjen"—cock-fight—which holds the foremost place in the estimation of the Balinese. They love it above all things and probably there are no people in the world who indulge more assiduously in this pastime than they do.

In addition to the cock-fights held by private individuals in the dessas in their spare time—and the Balinese have plenty— Heer van Bloemen Waanders gives us the following official report.

First of all there is the "saboengan-rajah," the cock-fights which are held once a year in the poeri—these last for two months, and as we have remarked before their year is considerably shorter than ours. The taxes connected with this event and the fines levied on the dice-playing, which necessarily results from it, are collected for the benefit of the prince and besides this, he has the right to claim two game-cocks from every "pengajah" (vassal).

Of course this "saboengan-rajah" is looked forward to eagerly by the thousands of spectators who come from all parts, and even the padandas are present; it is reckoned that on an average fifty cocks are made to fight every day, and out of these, about one half are killed out right.

The next in importance is the "saboengan poengawa." These do not take place at regular intervals, but vary according to the gambling propensities of the chiefs. The permission to hold the cock-fights has to be obtained from the prince, but is never extended for more than a month. The proceeds of the cock-fight dues are on these occasions for the "poenggawas," while, as a matter of course pengajahs are called upon to provide either one or two birds each, with the option of a fine.

Van Bloemen Waanders calculated that at Boelèleng about four of these feasts take place yearly.

And as nothing is more gratifying to the heart of the Balinese princes and nobles than justice towards their inferiors, they do not grudge them their official cock-fights, in addition to other pleasures.

Thus every year after the rice harvest there is the "saboengan soebak," that is the cock-fights which are celebrated in the various soebaks - or polder districts, comprising the members whose lands are irrigated from the same source; these are a form of thanksgiving for the crops. These only last five days and the dues collected are for the benefit of the society, the "seka soebak" (these may be compared with our polder administration).

Finally there is the "saboengan-dessa," in the neighbourhood of the dessa temples and these continue for a week. Every farmer has to provide a couple of cocks for every temple of his dessa. It might be hoped that in this case at any rate the people themselves might derive some little benefit from the fines, but alas! it is not so! This time it is the temples who enjoy the advantage and once more the inhabitants of the dessas are the losers.

Van Bloemen Waanders alleges that through these compulsory cock-fights about one-tenth part of the male population are taken away from their work; this is at least the case at Boelèleng and there is no reason to believe that matters are worse here than elsewhere. The evil is further intensified by the burden of taxation and the incidental expenses attendant upon these performances, not to speak of the pernicious moral results, these celebrations placing as it were a premium on idleness and disorder and bringing all the evil passions into play; it is not infrequent that at these periods a man gambles away not only all his property, but even his wife and children. The "saboeng rajah" which is of such long duration and provides such exciting sport is especially productive of these sad results. This is a busy time for the "Ajoeroe-soerat" (prince's secretary) if he tries to arrange satisfactorily (!) all the deeds of transfer that are submitted to him during these two fatal months!

Regarding the actual festivity itself, we will only say, that the arena consists of a plot seven metres square, marked off by bamboo canes—around this enclosure is a second one about one metre wide. Pretty bamboo cages—"Goeoengans"—in each one of which is a cock, are placed all round the course. At a given moment two of the cages are carried into the arena and this is the signal for a general uproar and the betting starts immediately. Meanwhile the birds are let out of the cages and a tiny double-edged spur is fastened to the left claw of each cock; the beginning and end of the combat is notified by the "Kèmong;" sometimes however the fighting proclivities of the assailants are too strong and they start before the official notice is given.

We again refer our readers to Dr. Jacob for further particulars about this custom, which is so prejudicial to the welfare of the people.

Naturally, in order to propitiate the gods, a religious tone is lent to these performances: the arena is always in close proximity to the temple to which a share of the profits are given, sacrifices are offered before and after the performances, and as a final expiatory sacrifice two speckled birds fight till one or other is killed.

The Balinese are not only confirmed gamblers, but inveterate slaves to opium, in Bali there is not one exception amongst the men, but amongst the women the vice is more confined to those of the higher castes, the dancing-girls and the inmates of the harem.

By nature diligent and active, the Balinese men degenerate into habits of idleness and indolence through the abuse of this noxious drug, which not only impairs their intellect but so weakens their whole system, that they are ever ready victims to any epidemic that may break out in the island.

Amongst the higher classes especially, where the indulgence of opium and women is the greatest, the once clear mind becomes gradually dull and brutish and finally, the last ray of lucidity that is left is concentrated on one goal, the search for new excitement and fresh sensual delights, which for a time shall banish indolence and conjure up a glorious heaven. This paradise is peopled with godlike "Bayaderes," who execute voluptuous dances, with lovely women clothed in beautiful transparent attire, and dazzling angels of both sexes, who offer to their parched lips that drink of the gods, that heavenly nectar, for which their souls thirst....."

At these times the Balinese are prepared for anything and will fight with the courage of a lion, and even perish gladly in the hopes of being admitted to that glorious paradise.

The greater bulk of the population are so much under the influence of the padandas, that even without opuim, it is easy to work them up to such a state of fanaticism that they would willingly sacrifice their lives to reach the heaven we have depicted.

It is when they are wrought up to this state of frenzy that those desperate struggles, known as "poepotans" take place: the chiefs attired in white, and having broken off part of their spears so as to handle them more effectually, rush on to the enemy with furious onslaught, after having frequently killed wife and children beforehand.

In these cases no quarter is given or asked.

And woe to the chief who should take to flight or surrender...! He would be eternally dishonoured and his authority would be lost for ever.

And as long as the chiefs display courage, the lower caste will not hesitate, but will stand and fall to the last man. Even the women are ready to follow in the footsteps of their husbands and do not shrink from seeking death in the last desperate struggle!

We shall have occasion to see this fanaticism put to the test in our account of the tragic struggle which terminated in the fall of the reigning dynasty at Lombock.

Meanwhile let us form no exaggerated opinion of the courage and warlike qualities of the Balinese under normal conditions. In the same proportion as their physical powers of resistance have been stunted, so have the mental powers of the notables been weakened by gambling, unrestrained passions and opium. This is evidenced by their mode of

carrying on their internecine struggles, when instead of fighting in straightforward gallant fashion, they have recourse to plunder, rapine, murder and arson.

How then, under these circumstances, account for the resolute opposition encountered in our previous Balinese expeditions?...

This was caused chiefly by our own mistakes.

In 1846, after the capture of Boelèleng and the capital of Singa Rajah, the princely residence, the Balinese were so terrified that they showed themselves ready to accept peace at any cost. Then, instead of following up our victory, we contented ourselves with the little we had achieved; politics undid what had been gained by splendid fighting, and time was given to the Balinese to recover from their fright and to fortify themselves both morally and physically... so that when we were compelled once more to take up arms against them two years later, two expeditions barely sufficed to restore what politics had spoiled. And even then the Balinese fought principally from behind the lines, the fortifications and the walls;* their main strength lay in treachery.

And did they not resort to the same measures in Lombock?

But we must give this kingdom its due; by the decrees of the Rajah the misuse of opium is much less frequent, although not altogether stamped out.

In other matters too, the old Rajah appears to have been a real censor, a regular guardian of morals. He was inexorable in cases of adultery, intercourse between the castes and the ravishing of young girls—these crimes were all punished by immediate death. Games of chance were prohibited and the stakes at the cock-fights were not allowed to exceed a certain figure. Pederasty, which was so common in Bali, was severely forbidden, therefore the "gandroengs" were not allowed to perform in Lombock. The "gegoedens" were allowed, but were exclusively for the prince's benefit and men were not permitted to visit the bazaar (market-place) in the morning. The prince's repugnance for obscene productions was so great, that many of the frescoes representing scenes from Balinese life, which had been selected for the adornment of his country seat at Gunong-Sari, were subjected to severe censure and many of the more offensive ones were erased by his orders, as witnessed by Dr. Jacob on the occasion when he visited the palace.

What a careful father to his subjects!.... But wait....

That same ruler, who rejoiced in the possession of a hundred wives and all things else his heart could desire and who kept such strict supervision over the morality of others, that ruler took no measures to put a stop to the shocking and brutal immorality of his higher subjects towards the lower Sassak population; and he did not even refrain from sending his "panjoerans"—public women—far and wide through the land, carrying licentiousness in their train....

* It is an undisputed fact that during this expedition the Balinese kidnapped the wives and children of the Bugis living on the coast and carried them off to the hills, forcing the male Bugis population to place themselves at the head of the troops in order to secure the ransom of their families.

To form a correct idea of this state of things, it is necessary to understand the true position of the woman in Bali. According to the Brahminical teaching they ought to occupy a high place.

"Wherever the woman is held in reverence, the gods are satisfied," says the book 'Manava sastra (the law-book of Manu),' "where she is not respected the most pious actions will remain fruitless. No family will exist long where the wife is unhappy, but where her days are spent in gladness, the family will increase and prosper. The houses which have been accursed by women, to whom just honour has not been shown, shall disappear from the face of the earth, as if by magic .... In every home where the husband delights in his wife and where the wife delights in her husband, there shall happiness reign supreme. If a wife be not elegantly or neatly dressed, she awakens no joy in her husband's heart, and if he feels no pleasure, then the marriage will remain childless."

And is it not natural that women should be held in high esteem by Budhism, with its attractive and gentle teachings, even purer and simpler than those of Brahminism?

That religion, which holds that selfishness must be suppressed and that justice is the greatest virtue, attainable only by charity and good-will; which teaches that "good people must love everybody because they are like unto themselves," that "all that one desires for one's self, one must desire for one's neighbour," that "the more highly a person is cultivated, the more he will wish to alleviate suffering in others" .... surely that religion with its sad theories of life, full of sorrow and pity, will teach its followers to hold their women in honour.

It is therefore not surprising to find that amongst the laws regulating the conduct of life, there should be one regarding the conduct between man and wife. It is written: The husband must love his wife: 1° he must treat her with respect; 2° he must be affectionate; 3° he must be faithful to her; 4° he must oblige others to respect her; 5° he must provide her with the necessary clothing and ornaments. The wife must show her love for her husband: 1° by keeping his house in order; 2° by being hospitable to his relatives and friends; 3° by being chaste; 4° by being a careful housekeeper; 5° by performing all her duties with skill and industry. In another part of Manu's lawbook, we find that man and wife are enjoined "to be guilty of no transgression towards each other as long as they live;" and the wives are spoken of as "the light of the homes, the goddesses of joy."

This is their moral philosophy! But let us see what is the actual position of the Balinese woman of to-day!

Heer van Bloemen Waanders says that the Balinese law only recognizes as lawful one kind of marriage: the "mepadik."

The young man who has become enamoured of a girl asks his father's consent to marry her and if the father approves of his son's choice, he goes to the girl's father and asks him if he is willing to give his daughter in marrige to his son. If both fathers agree, then free inter-

course is allowed between the betrothed and the padanda appoints the wedding-day, when all the relatives and friends assemble and spend the day in eating and drinking and talking to the merry sounds of the gamelang. In the evening the girl is carried in triumph in a sedan-chair to the home of her prospective husband and he follows her on horseback. Once the door of their allotted apartment is locked, the marriage is considered as completed.

A few days later the newly-married pair carry a few offerings to the padanda and beg of him to bestow the blessing of heaven upon their marriage.

But however simple this sort of marriage may appear, it is often found too tiresome and complicated for the impatient and passionate Balinese. He has found a shorter and quicker way of possessing the woman whom he may desire, with or without her consent or that of her parents. This extraordinary mode of proceeding must have been approved of by the lords of creation, for, from first being only a custom it has by force of habit become law.

The two most common methods of marriage are the "merangkat," in which the woman gives herself up to her lover with her own consent, and the "melegandang" when she is seduced against her will.

The prince of Lombock has however put an end to this latter practice, as we mentioned before.

In case of the former, the matter is arranged between the young people themselves; they make all the necessary plans and at a certain date the young man elopes with the girl and takes her generally speaking to the house of a friend, where she remains in hiding until the anger of her relatives is appeased and after paying the fine of two "Boengkoes" (50 florins)—which is the sum stipulated for this offence—the marriage is valid and the matter is at an end.

We must admit that it would be difficult to suggest a more simple way of getting joined in wedlock.

The "melegandang" is somewhat more complicated. The woman might offer resistance, or she might possibly be already married to some one else, or she might be betrothed, and some slight consideration is due to this third party.

The lover settles the matter with a few intimates .... scoundrels. They lie in ambush on the road where the woman passes to go to her work, or to the river to bathe, or wherever it may be. The woman is seized, her mouth is gagged and she is carried off to some house in the dessa, where a safe asylum is given, even should the people of the house be unacquainted with the parties concerned—simply because it is the custom of the country. Once inside the house the seducer is safe; on payment of seven boengkoes (175 florins) he may even retain sole possession of the woman; the only precaution that he has to take is, to remain concealed until the fine is paid, otherwise the anger of the husband or other relative might cost him his life.

If, after he has had the woman in his keeping for a few days, he

considers that the fine is too high or if he does not fancy her any more, he can, on payment of a smaller tax, send the poor creature back to her husband or her family!

But this is not all!

When it is question of a young girl, not yet marriageable, the fine is fixed at 4 "boengkoes;" (100 florins) the caste of the seducer is always considered, and the higher the caste, the lower the penalty!

It is easy to imagine that these practices must lead to endless immorality; we will only relate one instance from the diary of Van Bloemen Waanders, which will corroborate what we have already said about the free intercourse allowed between the young people of opposite sexes. The story refers to children, who had not yet attained their maturity, and could not therefore be really properly married.

"Ida K'toet Anom told me to-day that his eldest son, Ida Bagoes Mantra, a little fellow of about fourteen, had seduced his cousin Ida Ajoe Poetoe, of about his own age and daughter of the padanda Madé Gunong and that he had eloped with her to Bandjar Djawa.

"When I remarked that I was rather astonished that a child like Ida Bagoes Mantra had dared to do such a thing, he looked rather ashamed and told me the truth about the matter.

"This is the gist of his story.

"From their very babyhood almost the children had shown signs of mutual affection and it had therefore been decided by the parents that they should be allowed to marry and as they dwelt within the same homestead, familiar companionship was permitted and Ida Bagoes Mantra had been enjoined to sleep at night in Ida Ajoe Poetoe's room, in order to protect her in all emergencies.

"Things went on perfectly well for years and the children had lived together in close though innocent intercourse—for most strict orders were given to the boy to treat his cousin honourably; six days ago the boy's mother was warned that a Brahmin of Bandjar intended kidnapping the girl in order to marry her—of course against her will.

"As a result of this information a family council was held and it was decided that the young people should elope, secretly as it were, and that by degrees the news should be made public and that in future Ida Ajoe Poetoe would be protected from all assault. The children themselves were disinclined to play their parts in this comedy, but they were forced to do so.

"A good friend at Bandjar Djawa was let into the secret and agreed to give them shelter in his house for a few days.

"All these preliminaries being settled, they went last night to Bandjar Djawa, accompanied by the mother, sisters and others and the two children were locked up together in a small room.... and the marriage was accomplished.

"This morning Ida K'toet Anom went to see them.

"The boy wanted to return home at any price, as he was afraid that his doves and other birds would be neglected and die of hunger in his

absence. His father told him to put all such nonsense out of his head, that he was now a married man, but that in six or seven days when the news had got well bruited abroad, he should return home with his young wife.

"It is most lamentable—very justly remarks van Bloemen Waanders, that parents should be compelled to resort to such measures to prevent their plans being thwarted with impunity by a third party, for the adat—custom—ordains that the young girl shall remain with her seducer," etc.

This then is the way in which women are protected by the laws of their country!

The man who pays the purchase money, the fine, is her lawful owner; he can do what he likes with her; he can raise a mortgage on her or sell her; he can use her as a stake at the cock-fights or at a game of chance, just as he would a cow or a pig. The woman is, with few exceptions, therefore not an individual, but a thing, a means wherewith to satisfy one's wants.

Can the wife leave her husband in cases of too gross brutality? Yes—in certain cases the law permits it. But then, either she is placed at the disposal of the prince and her second condition is worse than her first—or else she has to refund to her husband twice the price he paid for her; in both cases the father is allowed by the law to keep the children. What a heavy score there is to be settled by some one for the framing of such laws!

It must not for a single moment be thought that the Balinese mother, who loves her children very dearly—whatever her faults may be, want of love for her offspring cannot be laid at her door—will resign herself to leave them, even if she is able to pay the penalty prescribed,—.No! poor creatures, they prefer submitting in silence to any humiliation. She even goes so far as to share her home with as many "sisters" as her husband shall choose to bring there; she works from morning to night, so that when her husband has squandered all his money in gambling and opium, she may have her little savings to give him, that there may be peace and order in the house and that she and her children may be spared disgrace.

This is the real every-day life of the Balinese wife!

What then is the cause of this stupendous difference between practice and theory?

In a great measure it is owing undoubtedly to the unfortunate combination of Hindu religion and polynesian paganism.

But then again, the Hindu religion in itself is not free from blame.

With all its magnificent ideas, its teaching is too formal, too pedantic; it is too pessimistic in its contempt for things transient, for all things that exist and that it looks upon as purely imaginary; it is too philosophical in its highest "dreams," called indifferentism, in its ulterior goal: liberation of the soul from earthly regeneration. Sight was lost

of the real needs of men's lives, which do not consist in meditations and no account was taken of the actualities of life, which is a continuous struggle from beginning to end.

And in spite of all the tolerance and liberalism contained in the teachings of Buddha, they are not free from partiality; and notwithstanding all the laws about honouring women, there is a maliciousness expressed towards them (between the lines), which throws a marvellous light, so as Dr. Kern says, on what the earthly saints—the padandas—understood by "love and good-will." And did the great founder of this doctrine, Budha the Sage, the Enlightened—the Budha of the legend, be it understood—did he always show love and respect to women?

It is true that he had some sad experiences with them, but it is no small wonder that the Balinese should have overstepped the bounds, when even among the early leaders there was such a wide discrepancy between theory and practice.

Let us see how the law further treats the women in Bali.

If a Sudra dies without a son or an adopted son old enough to replace him in his vassal duties, then the brother enters into possession of all he has left behind, including wife and children. In default of a brother everything becomes the property of the prince. This course is also pursued in cases of punishment for certain crimes; for instance if a man is outlawed; and as the prince is frequently called upon to deliver sentence, we may feel sure that he is not over-scrupulous about passing a judgment from which he derives so much advantage. The real estate is generally converted into hard cash, which finds its way to the prince's purse; the women of the household who are too old or too young are sent to the poeris to do the various domestic duties, thus working for the prince, whose property they have become; the good-looking women are selected for the prince's harem, whilst all the others, oftentimes including young girls not yet arrived at the age of puberty, are sent out as "panjoerans" to all quarters of the land and thus aid to swell the prince's revenue. These miserable creatures are compelled to send a percentage of their earnings to the prince, commensurate with their beauty and the density of the population whose territory they infest.

Is it not clear why the old Rajah of Lombock, whilst forming prohibitory laws which did not affect himself, upheld this most serious of all immoral institutions?

But this is not yet all.

"Furthermore we wish to add that if a Mohammedan dies here without male issue, the female relatives, as well as his real and personal estates are taken by the princes. The girls never turn out well, they all become prostitutes." However scandalous this may appear, it was "adat" as far as the Sudras were concerned; but:

"If the deceased leave brothers, they get nothing either, and later on, when Balinese from Karangassim are banished here, they are given the lands," etc. (both quotations are from the letter at the beginning of

the book). Now that was not "adat," so that the lot of the Sassaks was worse even than that of the Sudras.

Now that we have seen what is the position occupied by the Balinese women, we can the more easily understand the meaning and the justice of the further complaint of the Sassak chiefs, which are mentioned in the same letter: that the Balinese chiefs take the girls away by force, especially those of good families; some they keep for themselves, while the others are cast adrift; they do not content themselves with full-grown girls, but often insist upon taking tiny children only seven years old!

"Then it sometimes happened that the parents went out of their minds, but what was to be done?"

And did not the old Rajah himself set the example, when against the will of the Raden of Kali Djaga, he took his daughter, Ma Radja,—we shall have occasion to speak of this interesting woman later on—and had her poor resisting father put to death?

That then was the legal position of the Sassak people: absolute uncertainty as to land and property, wife and children, entirely at the mercy of the ruling race!

In no country in the world, not even in the country whence we borrow the device: "my house is my castle," is the realization of the idea contained therein, so strongly rooted as with "the Balinese. For him, his "homestead," enclosed within high walls, is really and truly his castle, his world. His world, holding all that he stands in immediate need of, be it temporal or spiritual; his world, in which he dwells with his family and all the members of his family, where he is safe against all intrusion.

The law however imposes upon him the duty of protecting his own homestead and at the same time confers upon him the right to stab without ceremony any nocturnal visitor, unable to give a speedy and satisfactory account of himself. Jealous and passionate by nature he does not allow his wife to speak to or receive any man during his absence from the homestead. Should a strange man enter his sleeping apartment uninvited he has a right to kill him. Outside the walls of his home, most things leave him cold and indifferent. Surly and proud, he seldom enters into conversation with his neighbour; as a rule, dissension exists between the different inhabitants of the same dessa; and nowhere does one come across the sociability and familiarity to be met with in the Javanese kampongs.

Only when self-interest is at stake—for in spite of their manifold offerings to the deities, the Balinese, that is to say the men, are great egotists—do they join dessa-unions and soebaks (polder-unions) for the benefit of their material welfare and club together to erect the dessa-temples for their spiritual good.

The submissiveness of the Javanese is not one of their characteristics; they are always ready to assert their rights if they fancy these have been in any way violated. They are not the least bit quarrelsome; indeed they recoil from abuse or insult, which is looked upon as so

serious an offence, that the law permits of its being wiped out by blood. The Balinese man never forgets an injury. He is not inclined to theft, as so many of our native tribes are. Is this the result of their better nature, or as Dr. Jacob alleges, of the stringent laws against stealing? It appears to us that a people innately proud is less likely to be addicted to this vice; however we have already noticed that the use of opium and gambling have had more or less demoralizing effects and in

Balinese Kampong facing the "bazaar" at Ampenan.

their train have followed poverty and misery, accompanied by theft and highway robbery. One invaluable feature of the Balinese character is their inherent capability for higher development and as we are called upon to assume such great responsability towards millions of our native subjects, we feel compelled to enlarge somewhat upon this point.

We have already alluded to their artistic genius in building the temples. One of the finest specimens is certainly the temple of Kasiman in Bali, a large quadrangle surrounded by high walls, richly sculptured, entrance to which is obtained through a magnificent pyramid shaped

gate, guarded ou each side by two huge Raksasas. Within the square, the transparent waters of a narrow little stream wind their way through the picturesque banks, shaded on either side by magnificent Waringin-trees and ornamented with handsome porcelain vases, holding lovely water plants. The stream is crossed by little bridges, leading to an open space, where numberless small temples—the before mentioned "meroes"—immediately attract attention. In the stone walls of these little buildings as well as in those encircling the enclosure are thousands of variegated earthenware plates and saucers of all sizes, with the concave side facing one.

Many Hindu images and handsome niches adorn the whole, which is supposed to be a copy of the famous Hindu temple of Madjapahit.

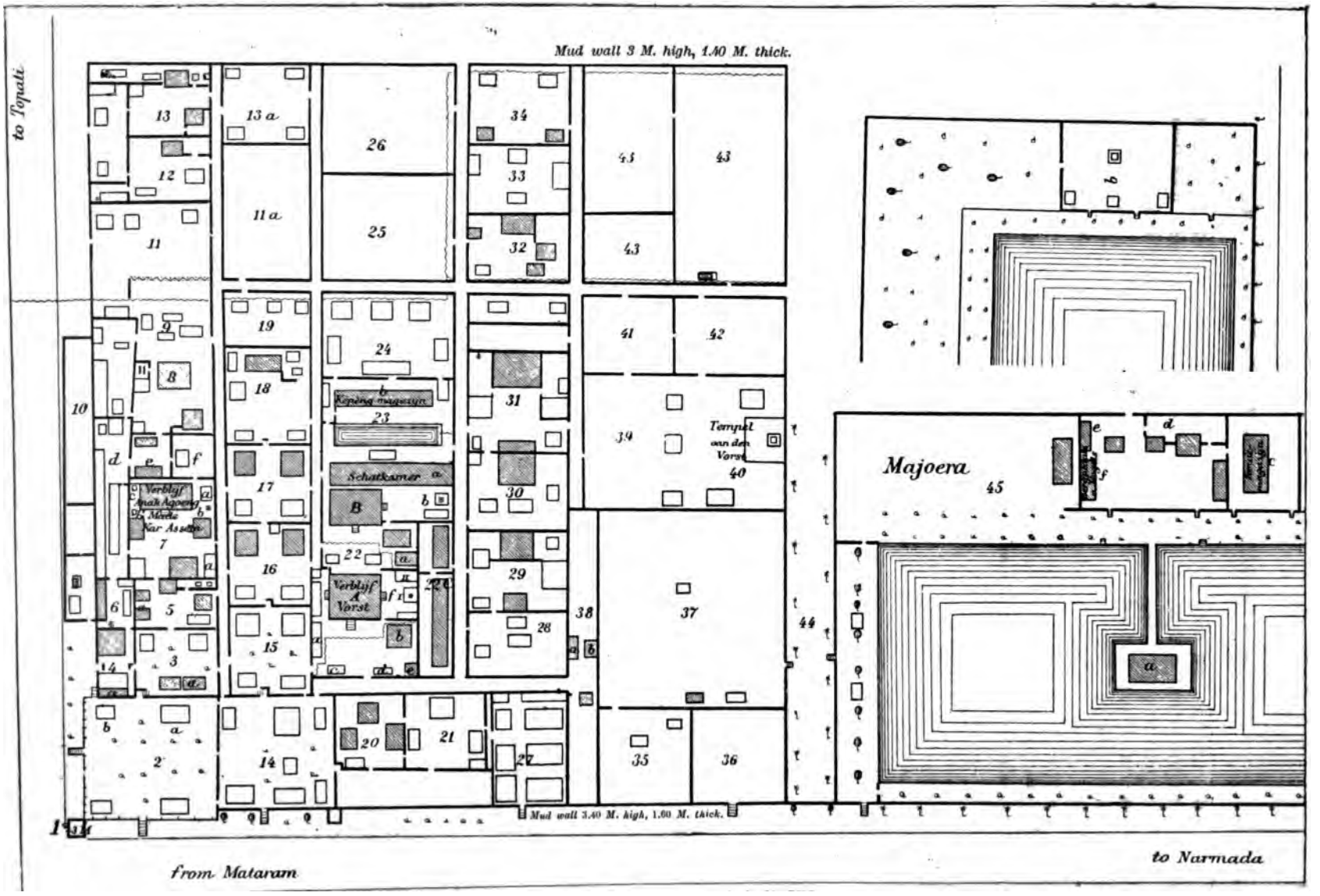
Concerning the princely palaces, the poeris, they are very inferior to the temples from an architectural point of view. Just as all the Balinese homesteads are walled in, so are the princes' residences; the walls of the poeris are generally embellished by carvings, representing allegorical subjects from the Hindu religion. As a rule, in front of most of the poeris there is a large covered-in space where the cockfights are held in rainy weather—as it would be impossible to forego this excitement during any lengthy period. Within the walls, there is a second space dedicated to the same pastime, but this is not weatherproof. On each side of the main entrance there are large and small "pendoppos," one or more of which are used as receptacles for the cages containing the game-cocks. Further on, facing one, and on both sides are numbers of high narrow double gates, leading up to which are a few stone steps. The side doors give access to the private apartments of the prince and his household. The centre gates lead to a second large open space, containing more "pendoppos," serving as dining-rooms, sitting-rooms and reception-rooms for visitors. Sundry small and large doors lead off from this floor to the kitchens, the stables and the dwellings of the panjoerans; a general air of uncleanliness pervades the whole place.

Guardian of the Temple.

The artistic taste of the Balinese has decidedly been shown to greater advantage in the magnificent country seats of the Lombock princes—but of that later.

Their skill in reading and writing is another proof of the natural talent of the Balinese. "It is marvellous," says Van Bloemen Waanders, ,'that in a country where public schools are conspicuous by their absence and where teachers and teaching are never heard of, the knowledge df reading and writing should have attained such an extraordinary oevelopment."

And it is not only amongst the men that these accomplishments are so wide-spread; the women, especially those of the higher classes, are



Mud wall 3 M. high, 1.40 M. thick.
to Topati
Majoera
Tempel van den Vorst
Schatkamer
Verblijf A Vorst
Mud wall 3.40 M. high, 1.60 M. thick.
from Mataram
to Narmada

# KEY TO PLANS.

1. Balé loendjoek (place where the old Prince usually sat, when he wanted to be near the passers-by).
2. Bentjingah (place where the notables waited when they wanted to interview the Prince).
   (*a*). Balé pagamboehan.
   (*b*). „ boender.
3. Rangki (hall for the trusted guardsmen) (*a*) armoury.
4. Patjinan (sleeping place of A. A. Madé Karang Asem) *a*. Place where the firearms were kept.
5. Pagoelohan (apartments of the wives of Madé Karang Asem).
   (*a*). Balé Mambang (where Madé Karang Asem was generally to be found).
6. Batawi (place where the goods and utensils of Madé Karang were kept).
7. Ekalanga. (Abode of Madé Karang Asem).
   (*a*). Djapitpé (cool cistern for drinking water).
   (*b*). Bathrooms.
   (*c*). Private.
   (*d*). Pawargan (kitchens).
   (*e*). Lodji Alit (apartment in which Madé Asem sometimes secluded himself with his wives.
   (*f*). Place for religious ceremonies to be conducted by the padandas, especially at festivals.
8. Pasaran (dwelling of Ajoe Karang, sister of Madé Asem and Ketoet).
9. Papoea (apartment of the Pumbuckles).
10. Stables for pikol horses.
11. Pebatan (slaughtering place for pigs).
11*a*. ( „ for buffaloes).
12. Siani (apartment of Gedé Raji).
13. Mesir ( „ of Gedé Poetoe).
13*a*. Apartment of the attendants of Gedé Poetoe.
14. Djaba Tengah. (Place where the notables were received by the Prince; imer court).
15. Petandakan (see—3).
16. Pamengkang (place where eatables were sold to the inhabitants of the Poeri).
17. Balé Oekiran (place where the teeth of the relatives of the Prince were filed).
18. Pasaran Pisan (apartment of Ajoe Oka).
19. Apartment of Djero Boekit (headcook).
20. Magada. (Apartment of Madé Djilantik.)
21. Pengaping. (Reception-room of above).
22*A*. Oekir Kawi (apartments of the Prince).
   (*a*). Balé Tjina,
   (*b*). „ Malong.
   (*c*). „ Sekaoeloe.
   (*d*). Balé Mambang Sekaoeloe.
   (*f*). Kretalaja (I. Bathroom, II. Oratory).
22*B*. Trangganoe (apartment of Dinda, Sassak wife of the Prince).
   (*a*). Goedang.
   (*b*). Hardakamas (bathroom of Dinda).
22*C*. Gedong Pesoeroehan (store-house).
23. Poelembang (treasuries).
   (*a*). Silver and gold.
   (*b*). Képéngs (copper-money
24. Karang Bong Bong (apartment o the lady in charge of the concubines [and female attendants).
25. Inglau (quarters of the female attendants).
26. Sakra (place where servants were punished).
27. Sawitra (quarters of the female attendants).
28. Madjapait ( „ „ „ )
29. Kartawidia (apartment of Ajoe Praba, daughter of the old Prince).
30. Pasenêtan. (Reception room for the wives).
31. Tjitra Rasmin (apartment of Dinda Petimah the Prince's second wife).
32. Tjitra Koeta (apartment of Ajoe Nengah, daughter of the old Prince).
33. Pamégétan (servants' apartments).
34. Bangsal (storerooms and kitchens).
35. Djaba Tengah Pajadjujan (inner court).
36. Bentjingah (guard-room).
37. Pajadjujan (place of remembrance of the dead)
38. Pasedahan (place where sirih was refined).
   (*a*). Money Treasury.
   (*b*). Repository for musical instruments).
39. Bentjingah Meradja (guard-room).
40. Pemeradjan (Dewa' temple of the Prince).
41. Sidakaria (place where the sacrifices were prepared.
42. Soetji (place where the offerings were consecrated).
43. Karang Soehoeng (Pisang-hedge).
44. Marga Tenggang (passage).
45. Majoera.
   (*a*). Gili Kantjana.
   (*b*). Meroe (Dewa-temple).
   (*c*). Herb storeroom.
   (*d*). the Prince's Pasanggrahan.
   (*e*). Storehouse for Képéngs.
   (*f*). Shot magazine.
46. Stamboel (apartments of Datoe Pangeran, son of Ketoet K. Asem) (burnt).

N.B. The road to Topati gives exactly the northern direction. For want of space the pond (45) has been left out in the S E. corner, and put-in in the N.E. corner.

quite as proficient as their lords and masters. As boys and girls, playing together, they teach one another the alphabet and the fathers, but chiefly the mothers, give them further assistance and teach them how to write ou the lontar leaves.

"How to write on lontar (palm) leaves"! it is a thing one has frequently heard of and a good deal more will be heard of it, so it is not inappropriate to say a few words on the subject.

The leaf comes from the lontar palm. After leaving it to soak in water for about a fortnight, it is dried. The leaf is then folded in two and is written upon on both sides by a sharp pointed knife, that is to say the characters are scratched on to the leaf and in order to make the writing more distinct, it is sprinkled over with the dust obtained from the "kemiri" fruit, which is burnt and reduced to powder.

Dr. Jacobs informs us that leaves thus treated are never eaten by insects and will last hundreds of years. Friederich maintains on the other hand that Indian manuscripts can never be much more than one hundred years old and that this fact is proved by the greater part of the ancient literature of Java being lost.

In Bali therefore one cannot expect to find many very old manuscripts, but the priests there have learned how to copy them so accurately, that their copies may be said to be quite as valuable as the originals. The Balinese books consist of lontar leaves held together by a piece of twine run through a hole in each leaf and then fastened to two little pieces of wood on the outer sides to keep the whole firmly together.

But we were dealing with the capabilities of the Balinese for higher development.

Most of the three higher castes, as well as the well-to-do Sudras, are acquainted with the Kawi literature; the "Wajang" performances have not a little to do with this and at their social gatherings, there are frequent readings and songs from the fascinating Kawi legends. Van Bloemen Waanders even goes so far as to say, that it is his opinion that the famous "Thousand and One nights" had their source in Bali.

That they are not of Arabian origin, but a translation from an Indian work, has been conclusively proved, by the researches made by Professor A. W. von Schlegel; and the "Tantri-Kamendaka", which is written in pure Kawi, teems with moral fables which remind* one at every turn of the stories out of the "Thousand and one nights"; and it is worth

* Here we also have the account of a prince Praboe Sri dara Patra, who at the height of his power and surrounded by grandeur, still failed to find any gratification excepting in women and every day he insisted upon having a fresh young and beautiful girl brought to him. To save her father Patih Bandé S'warya, who had incurred the prince's anger by being unable after some years to find him any fresh victims, Dijah Tantri, his lovely daughter, offered to go and share the prince's bed herself.

When he began to overwhelm her with caresses, she was clever enough to free herself from his embraces and coaxed him into listening to a short tale. She succeeded in so fascinating him that he could think of nothing else and at last he fell asleep out of sheer weariness. Thus it was the next night, when the prince conceded to her the privilege to continue her story, and so it was a third, and fourth, etc., till at last all her charming tales (which are contained in the manuscript), her beauty and her cleverness made her so indispensable to the prince that he was quite cured of any desire ever to see any one else.

noticing that just at that period numbers of Arabian missionaries were making constant voyages to the Indian Archipelago. Whatever be the truth, there is no doubt that the Balinese literature is richly provided with works (principally written in Kawi) of great value on matters historical, philosophical, judicial, religious, poetical and humorous; many instances of this have been given us by Friederich and Van Bloemen Waanders and it is more than probable that important specimens will be found amongst the writings left by Dr. van der Tuuk. We do not think that Lombock will be found much behind Bali in this respect.

The more we learn about these remarkable people, the more we are inclined to regret with Van Bloemen Waander "that a nation displaying such natural aptitude for increased civilization and higher culture of mind, should see itself condemned by mistaken political ideas and by desperate attachment to ancient customs, to remain for ever stationary at the point reached three or four centuries ago," also that, "the desire for knowledge is too frequently kept in check by the ridiculous notion or rather pretext of the padandas, that those not initiated into mysteries of the priesthood, should not strive after too much erudition, as it might cause confusion of mind and be productive of other evils."

The Balinese have been hemmed in on the one side by maladministration and on the other by a narrow-minded religion, and for centuries these combined forces have arrested all mental progress.

Can anything be altered in their religion?

Intolerance toward other people's way of thinking—says Liefrinck—is unknown amongst the Balinese, as they are usually much too engrossed in their own business, to think much about other people's. They seldom try to make converts; for it is in keeping with their character to be totally indifferent as to what gods their neighbours worship. However, from political reasons, the rulers have left no stone unturned to induce the Sassaks to embrace Hinduism.

The neophytes were granted all sorts of privileges: exemption from vassalage and certain taxes and from having to serve as soldiers out of their own country; they were thus placed on an equality with the Balinese. If a Sassak woman married a Balinese, she was obliged to follow her husband's creed and their children were brought up as Hindus. For a time, after the great rising of 1855, the Sassaks were even forbidden to assemble for prayer in their temples.

With the exception of a short period of time—when the beforementioned Ma Radja, wife of the Rajah, exercised such a strong influence over him—everything was done to prevent pilgrimages to Mecca and the number of hadjis and mosques became fewer and fewer, etc.

All attempts that have been made to convert the Balinese either to Christianism and Islamism have been attended with very small results. Certainly, there are here and there instances of conversions to Islamism, but these are only few and far between.

As regards conversion to Christianity, the unfortunate results of the labours of the Protestant missionaries in Bali are well-known: and the

unceasing efforts made by van der Jagt, van Eck, de Vroom and Wiggelendam are undeniable.

Catholicism would naturally appeal more deeply to the Balinese, who feel the want of outward ceremonial and symbols. But would a life of continence, not to say of suffering and serving, after the ideal of the great Master, suit the proud passionate Balinese? Would he willingly surrender all the earthly joys, which his position as a member of the

"Various types of Sassaks.

higher caste entitle him to, or the number of women to whom he is so passionately devoted, or his titles of Ida, Dewa, Gusti, of which he is so tenacious?—Would he give up all these tangible possessions to obtain a reward later in a heaven—which to him, is so far distant?

Well, it is barely possible that amongst the Sudras, the very poor ones for whom all these earthly advantages do not exist, a few might embrace catholicism .... perhaps.

But at all events the proud task of our government is to look after the material and intellectual welfare of this strong and gifted people

and the first step to be taken is, to put an end to the tyrannical government whose rule for centuries has been one of incessant oppression and extortion. The only possible way of achieving this object is the introduction of our direct control.

Before dilating at greater length upon the Balinese, we must dwell for a little while upon the Sassaks. We cannot discuss their religious and social institutions in the same manner as we did those of the

"House in a Sassak Kampong."

Balinese; to do so would be to overstep the limits of our work. We will only point out one or two peculiarities in which they differ from the inhabitants of the neighbouring island.

The dress of the Sassak men is not unlike that of the Balinese—they generally wear a piece of white "kain" (linen) on their heads and their ears are not pierced. Their krisses are much longer and the hilts are dissimilar, those of the Sassaks being made to remind the wearer of the circumcision, as the Balinese always contemptuously remark. The women are more covered and wear dark blue or black "badjoes" fastening at

the neck, but without sleeves; true the material is rather transparent.

Some of their dessas are built after the Balinese, some after the Javanese fashion. The latter are built of bamboo on the ground and the former are built ou a sort of support or foundation of clay about one metre high; the walls are usually of clay and are two metres high; the roof is always of paddy straw. The house generally consists of a large inner room and an open terrace; alongside the house or close to it are separate buildings for the kitchens, rice stores, etc. If the homestead is not enclosed by a wall, it is surrounded by pagars (palissading) as in Java. Viewed from the sawahs, the kampongs present exactly the

"Sassak fishermen on the beach a Ampenan."

same appearance as those of Java; for where they are surrounded by walls, the dark clay is only visible at intervals through the dark green foliage—for the whole kampong is hidden behind masses of cocoa-nut trees and bamboos, and penangs and pisangs, all in the full splendour of their tropical perfection.

If anything, the Sassak is less licentious than the Balinese; the religious aversion for all the Balinese domestic animals, dogs and pigs, forms one source less of immorality.

As a rule the Sassak is long-suffering and docile and herein lies his resemblance to the Javanese; as we have learnt by his history he has endured all sorts of tortures, extortions and ill-usage before rebelling. He is industrious and energetic when working for himself and this is

fully proved at harvest time, when thousands of pikols of rice are being carried to the coast by daybreak. He is anything but quarrelsome by nature and would ask for nothing better than to be allowed to cultivate his land in peace. That, while serving under us in warfare, he displayed less favorable characteristics, such as love of plunder and lack of zeal, does not disprove the previous statement. Is it to be wondered at, that, after so many years of oppression, he should end by giving himself up to unbounded licentiousness? The absolute unsafety of life and property had deadened all his energy and strength and the hardships and ravages of a protracted war were enough in themselves to demoralize him entirely; but with patience and tact and a more beneficent rule, he will undoubtedly be once more converted into a peace-loving and industrious husbandman!

Sasak woman washing clothes at the riverside.

The Sassak, like the Balinese, loves fishing, whereto the waters of Lombock afford him ample opportunity. Like the Javanese he uses nets—drag nets and hoop nets—seros and fishing-rods; as he is just as little of a hero at sea as the Balinese, he confines himself chiefly to the coast.

Their industries are very insignificant and are limited to the weaving of sarongs and other articles of dress, plaiting palm-leaves and bamboo canes into baskets and to the making of weapons. Gold- and silversmiths are much less numerous than in Bali and the cause is not far to seek; and they are much behind the Balinese in taste and in the art of decorating, for in a country where poverty is the order of the day, articles of luxury are not much in demand.

The language of the Sassaks is totally different from that spoken by the Balinese; although the Sassaks have borrowed many words from their neighbours, still they are unable to understand each other's language. Some few Sassaks, and nearly all the chiefs, understand Balinese and speak it. Malay is spoken amongst strangers. The Sassaks

have many words used in Malay and Javanese; but on the whole, the language is more like that spoken in Bima and Sumbawa. High and low languages such as exist in Balinese are unknown; there are a few expressions of respect and submission to be used by an inferior in speaking to a superior .... and these must have been very largely used!

There are no distinctive characters for writing and the few chiefs who have acquired this accomplishment make use of those employed by the Balinese or Javanese. Sassak literature is singularly poor and there are no original works at all; they have a few works written on lontar leaves in the Bali-djawa-language, which are chiefly historical or romantic and are translated from Malay or Arabic; the Ringanis are the best known.

Their system of administering justice is the same as in Bali, allowing for the difference of religion and the social disparities ensuing there-

"Ploughing the Sawahs."

from and stipulations for which have been made in the so-called "pas'-wara Sassak."

What cannot fail to awaken our greatest interest next to the peculiar religion of the Balinese, is the highly developed system of their agriculture, which surpasses that of all our other islands in the archipelago.

"It was here—so says Wallace—that I first obtained an adequate idea of one of the most wonderful systems of cultivation in the world, equalling all that is related of Chinese industry, and as far as I know surpassing in the labour that has been bestowed upon it any tract of equal extent in the most civilized countries of Europe. I rode through this garden utterly amazed, and hardly able to realize the fact, that in this remote and little known island, from which all Europeans except a few traders at the port are jealously excluded, many hundreds of square

miles of irregularly inundated country have been so skilfully terraced and levelled, and so permeated by artificial channels, that every portion of it can be irrigated and dried at pleasure. According as the slope of the ground is more or less rapid, each terraced plot consists in some places of many acres, in others of a few square yards. We saw them in every state of cultivation; some in stubble, some being ploughed, some with rice-crops in various stages of growth. Here were luxuriant patches of tobacco; there, cucumbers, sweet potatoes, yams, beans or Indian corn varied the scene, etc."

"Working the sawahs."

It was very probably the Hindu colonists, who introduced the wet rice culture here as well as in Java. But when? Some think it may date back to a more remote period before our Christian era, when commercial relations are said to have existed between the land of the Ganges and Bali.

The Soebak (polder-districts)* statutes, by their very language, point to very great antiquity and presumably their proficiency in agriculture dates further back still. The necessary re-writing of the lontar-leaves—about every 50 or 100 years—on which these regulations are found, makes it impossible to specify the exact date, for the Balinese have been in the

* Polders are low-lying grounds, from which the water is kept by a dyke.

bad habit of only writing down the year in which they were transcribed and not the date of the original manuscript.

The first reliable information regarding wet rice culture is received from Cornelius Houtman, who touched the South coast of Bali in 1597 and who stated that the insufficiency of the supply in that island had to be made up by Lombock.

Rice culture has always been of the greatest importance for Lombock, where it is the staple article of commerce, the source of all wealth. Not only does the island yield enormous quantities, but the quality of the rice is far superior to that op Bali and can be kept for years and years without spoiling, as was proved after the eruption of the Tambora, when for seven years the soil was unable to produce fresh crops. Large cargoes are exported to the neighbouring islands of the archipelago and also to more distant ones, such as the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon; some is even sent to Australia, Europe and China.

Men, and sometimes women, carry on an extensive trade in rice in the interior; they go from kampong to kampong to buy and their stock is carried on horse-back—carts are unknown in Lombock and Bali—to the coast for sale.

The prince grants trading concessions. At the time of Zollinger's visit, he was entirelly in the hands of a merchant called "King" and a Chinese. The prince himself fixed the prices for buying and selling and he always took half the profits of the year's trade, which gave him a yearly income of about 150.000 florins. Besides this tax and the import and export duties and the presents given by the merchants to obtain the prince's good will, the prince derived still further advantages from this produce.

According to Zollinger there was a yearly tax, of 6 to 7 florins on every tenah,* and this was paid to the Rajah of Lombock in gold, (not in kind) to which the people gave the preference. This tax is not levied in proportion to the number of inhabitants in every dessa, but according to the number of tenahs in every dessa.

The inhabitants themselves make the computation amongst the owners of the various lots of the sawahs.

In Lombock it is only the Sassaks who pay this tax, but let us see what it amounts to according to a very moderate calculation. Admitting that one-eighth part of the sawahs belong to the Balinese, that one-fifth of those owned by Sassaks are exempt from taxation (during their term of vassalage they pay no taxes), and that the total yield of the rice culture amounts to 1.800.000 pikols (1 pikol = 62lbs) yearly, this would mean that 1.260.000 are produced from land which is taxable, and allowing for further exemptions, let us put the figure at 1.000.000 pikols. Supposing the average crop of every tenah to be 20 pikols, then it is clear that duty has to be paid on 50.000 tenahs, this tax alone yielding from three to three and a half "tons" of gold every year (a "ton" of gold is 100.000 florins).

* According to Liefrinck the term "tenah" in Bali is meant to represent a stretch of Sawah that in good years would yield 50 bundles of paddy of a certain size.

Let us proceed to see how this rice culture, such a source of wealth to prince and people, is regulated.

An inclined plain, the side of a hill for instance, is divided by banks and trenches into horizontal strips of land, forming so many terraces; the water used to flood these frequently comes down from the mountains through deep ravines and has to be dammed up and subsequently carried through open or covered aqueducts along the line of cultivation. After the land has been ploughed by East Indian buffalo-oxen, the rice is sown in the trenches, which are left under water until the seed

"Rice harvest."

germinates, when it is drawn off; later, they are again flooded, and the alternate flooding and drawing-off is continued until the harvest time.

It is evident that for the laying out of these terraces much practice and knowledge are indispensable. The construction of the dams in the rivers necessitates hard work and abundant material; and the planting of the stakes to support the aqueducts, the preparing of all these winding mounds the whole length of the different terraces, are also very arduous labours; the apportioning of the water, which is very scarce, over all the various fields, requires continual care and supervision to prevent either accidental or intentional damage or the draining off of the water.

It is perfectly clear that it would be impossible for each single individual to do all this for himself.

Thus it has come about that all those interested, whose fields are irrigated by the same river or branch of a river, have made common cause and formed societies, which are called soebak-unions or societies from the fact that all the lands watered from the same source are called "soebaks."

The object of these institutions was to ensure to the small land-owner proportionate advantages to those enjoyed by large proprietors, without however in any way detracting from each man's individual claim. In addition to this material benefit, the social bond became strengthened between dwellers in the same districts, which was in itself a good thing, for as we have already remarked, the Balinese show a decided disinclination to cultivate friendly intercourse with their neighbours.

"Native booth on the beach at Ampenan."

As these unions increased in numbers, they grew more and more independent and in virtue of their own regulations, the "kerta sima soebak," they assumed full technical and administrative authority in their own territories.

These "soebaks" bear a striking resemblance to our polder districts and the "soebak-unions" to our administration of the polders with this, difference, that with us, it is a question of draining the water off the land and with them it is a question of carrying it to the land.

The study of this remarkable institution and its rules, is most important, but we should exceed the limit of our work if we were to do more than just draw attention to one or two interesting facts; to be brief then:

When inhabitants of a dessa wish to establish a "soebak" and have informed themselves that there will be no obstacles placed in their way by the officials in the dessa where the land is situated, then they make an application to the "Sedahan—agong," that is to the head of all the sawahs and through him the request is placed before the princes, to whom all rivers and waste lands belong.

When it is clear that the new course would cause little or no damage

to those already existing, then permission is given and the society is at once constituted.

The first thing they do is to choose a president,—the "klian-soebak"—of whom it is expected that he shall study the interests of the society before all else.

As soon as the season is favorable, they begin work, the land is eleared and parcelled out amongst the members. The klian keeps a sort of register consisting of a collection of lontar-leaves, on each one of which is inscribed the name of a share-holder, together with his address and the area of land that has been allotted to him. The president regulates the remaining business of the soebak mostly in conjunction with the other members, as his position is rather that of a senior member than that of a chief.

He opens the meetings and presides over them; he has to see to the carrying out of all the decisions and rules, he fixes the fines and penalties; besides this he is held responsible for the fair division of the water and must take precautionary measures against damages of all kinds, waterstealing, etc. There is no settled salary attached to the office of president, but sometimes certain privileges are granted, such as a double share of water. If the district is too extensive to be properly superintended by one man, it is either subdivided or assistants are chosen to help the "klian" in his duties. All the members of the soebak are bound to assist the klian in turn, and therefore a list of their names is duly kept.

In cases of dispute arising which fail to be amicably settled by the klian, appeal is made, to the "sedahan temboekoe;" this functionary is superintendant-general of all the "soebaks" in one same dessa. His principal duty is to see that the taxes due to the prince on the sawahs are paid punctually; he has nothing else whatever to do with agriculture, beyond supervising the division of the water, where several "soebaks" are served from the same source.

If this official is unable to settle matters in dispute to the satisfaction of those concerned, then they may refer to the fore-named "sedahan-agong," who is the head of the sawah administration and is a person of unlimited influence.

There are monthly gatherings of all the "sedahans temboekoes" under the presidency of the "sedahan agong."

All agricultural questions are discussed, and all questions, that have remained unsettled by the "klians" or the "sedahans temboekoes" during the course of the month, are now settled by the head "sedahan."

There is of course a final appeal to the prince if the matter be not satisfactorily settled by the head "sedahan"; in that case the oath is administered either to the complainant or the defendant and this generally takes place in the soebak-temple. These desperate measures are always avoided as much as possible and the members of the soebak generally try to arrange their business privately.

Once a month, or more frequently if the interests of the "soebak"

should require it, the klian summons all the members to a meeting, which is generally held at some point from which a view of the entire "soebak" can be obtained, thus facilitating a speedy arrangement of all matters under discussion. In the early days of the foundation of a soebak, the gatherings take place in the open, under the shade of some large tree. Later, when things begin to prosper, they unite to build a soebak-temple, so that the meetings may be pleasanter.

Some high spot is generally chosen and the temple is constructed much on the same plan as those we have already described. In the enclosure—which is not roofed—there are besides the little gods' house, one or more balés, containing long benches for the members of the soebak.

One of the rules to be observed at these meetings runs as follows: "Every one who attends the meeting must be suitably attired," viz., he must wear a "sapoet" round the loins, but the upper part of the body must be uncovered and may not be smeared with "boreh." Any infringement of this rule is punishable by a fine.

At the hour fixed for the meeting the klian produces his box of plaited lontar-leaves, containing all the documents concerning the "soebak" and first and foremost is the list of members. Each name is read aloud, and should a member not answer at once to the call, he is fined.

All absentees are fined, for attendance at these meetings is one of the chief rules; unless some valid reason is given for omitting to be present, a penalty is enforced.

The klian then proceeds to communicate the orders regarding taxation which he has received from the "sedahan temboekoe" and to tell them what repairs are to be carried out on the roads, which it is the duty of the "soebak" to keep in good order.

After this, the affairs of the soebak itself are considered, the water works, the expediency of renovations, improvements, etc. The klian lays before the members the statement of the money received in fines and entrance fees; the money spent in wages, materials, offerings is also accounted for.

Woe to the klian who should venture to appropriate even one kèpeng of the society's money. The wrath of the gods would overtake him! At times there are considerable sums of money in hand and then the members are allowed to borrow on payment of from 4 to 5 per cent a month.

Having fulfilled his duty and placed all matters clearly before the members, he declares that the business part of the meeting is concluded and the time for pleasure begins.

The "sajahs" or klian's assistants, who prepared the place of reception in the morning by sweeping, laying down mats, etc., now bring round flowers, and offer the various ingredients for the "boreh," (scented ointment) with which to freshen up the body after the long sitting; subsequently refreshments are partaken of, naturally the sirih (leaf of the betel) occupies the first place, but often there is all kinds of pastry or even a whole luncheon. In some rules the prescribed courses are entered and even the quantity allowed for each person is regulated, and

so that there may be no mistake about the matter, a pair of scales frequently occupies a prominent place in the assembly-room.

The chief obligation enjoined on all members of a "soebak" is, that one and all shall do a share of the work in the joint undertaking. Here we see the fulfilment of the principle of general service; here equality reigns supreme, and every man, be he Brahmin or Sudra, if he becomes a member of a "soebak," is bound by the same rules. Each man's work corresponds to the amount of water he uses, so that all those who have the same quantity are obliged to perform the same amount of work; the consumption of water is regulated by the "klian" by means of partitions called "tamoekoes."

Should any one either by purchase or inheritance become possessed of more shares of the sawah, he is obliged to nominate a substitute to look after these or else to pay a fine to the "soebak." Certain stipulations are made to prevent one single person from owning too great a portion of the land, as this would be detrimental to the community.

What are the obligations of a soebak?

These are divided into two classes: 1° those carried out exclusively for the good of the soebak; 2° those performed for the prince or for the benefit of agriculture in general.

To the former belong:

1° The keeping in repair of the dams and aqueducts and all things connected with them, sluices, pipes, paddles, partitions, etc. As soon as the sawahs no longer require flooding, the water-works are left to their fate; heavy rains and landslips cause no end of destruction. A few weeks before the irrigating season begins, the klian makes himself acquainted with the condition of things and makes his report; he summons the members to set to work and carry out the needed repairs, for which hands and time very frequently fail.

2° Supervision over the aqueducts and the water used for flooding. Under penalty of a fine every member is compelled to make good immediately any damage that may come under his notice, and should he be unable to do so, he is bound to apprise the klian of the fact. In soebaks where there is a scarcity of water, watchmen are placed at different points to prevent the water being drained off by subterranean pipes. These men, who are on duty night and day, are replaced every 24 hours; to ensure their guarding the whole length of the aqueduct, a certain object is given to the men to deposit at the furthermost point of their beat—this has to be brought back the following day by the next man on duty; thus the members exercise a sort of control over one another.

3° The maintenance of increased police supervision to support the klian.

4° The keeping in repair of all the roads and pipes, on the principle that all lines of communication laid down for the benefit of the soebak should be kept up by them, even should the general public draw advantage therefrom.

5° The building and keeping up of the places where the assemblies are held, the rice barns and the agricultural temples.

Regarding the second class of obligation imposed upon the soebak members, that is the maintenance of the princes' poeris, this is performed by rendering gratuitous services and generally consists in carrying materials, such as atap, bamboo, fire-wood, straw, etc. In the greater number of soebaks these services can be dispensed with on payment of a fee; exceptions are of course made in cases of illness, still this plea may not be put forward more than three times a year and here again we see the soebak members exercising control over one another. Should a man, who has excused himself on the score of sickness, be seen working elsewhere, or walking about with his kris, or wearing a flower behind his ear or in his hair—a sign that a Balinese is feeling unusually well and happy—it is the duty of whoever sees him, to report him to the klian and a fine is imposed.

The amount of the fee to be paid for exemption from work for the prince, is fixed according to the supply and demand and varies in different soebaks from a half to three and a half rijks dollars (4/6). The request must be made to the klian at the meeting which takes place when the rice is being cut, for the great harvest or Oesaba—festival takes place shortly after that; and owing to the great importance of this festival people make preparations for it and think about it a considerable length of time beforehand. Still this great festival of all is not the first one of a similar kind, though on a smaller scale, that has been celebrated by the members of the soebak guild.

The first festivities are held as soon as the labours connected with the dams are completed; the spot chosen for this celebration is the bank of the river which supplies the irrigation water; a bamboo structure is erected and on it are placed the offerings for the gods, which always include a sucking-pig, a white hen and a white duck. When, says Liefrinck, the gods have been allowed sufficient time to regale themselves with the sight of these dainties and the pamangkoe has mumbled a few invocations, then the whole construction, white duck, white hen, sucking-pig and everything else are hurled into the river! but these good things must not be wasted .... oh no! this last act of sacrifice is the signal for a regular scrimmage and all those who can, follow the hen and the duck and the sucking-pig, each man trying to secure for himself the most he can!

At the time of the new moon a second festival is held, that is when all the water-pipes have been cleared; and in this case the celebrations and offerings are to obtain the favor of the gods against all bad and secret influences detrimental to the fertility of the Sawahs.

At the time of the first full moon after the second festival a third is held to beg of the gods to keep the crops free from disease and to send them a plentiful harvest.

Twenty-five days before the harvest and for three consecutive days there are further celebrations in the temple to offer up praise and prayer to the deities, to obtain from them the favour that the still growing crops may be full of sap and nourishment.

A couple of days before the harvest begins, a few of the finest ears

of rice are cut, one leaf being left on the stem: these are tied together in a bunch called "nini," and are destined for Sri, the goddess of Fertility. When the harvest is over and the rice has been gathered into the barns by the women, this little "nini" is placed right on the very top of the padi, in order to drawn down a blessing on it!

According to circumstances the Oesaba takes place either a few days before or a few days after the harvest.

The day previous to the actual feast, all the members of the soebak dressed in their best clothes, go to the shore carrying with them little wooden caskets, supposed to contain the gods, and other properties belonging to the temples, besides flowers and offerings. They spend some little time near the water—this is to propitiate the gods by taking them to enjoy a refreshing morning bath—and then accompanied by the "gamelang" they return home and deposit once more all the paraphernalia in the temple.

The next morning early every one goes to the temple, and instead of their krisses, all the men carry "goloks," *i.e.* large knives in handsome sheaths wherewith to cut up the meat for the sacrificial repast, preparations for which have been made by the women on the same lines as those made for New Year's day. In some localities they play the "gamelang" and dance in the temples; and not infrequently each division of a sawah sends one young girl to represent it. Sometimes fifty or a hundred of these girls, prettily dressed and adorned with flowers, perform picturesque dances and the jingling of their anklets intermingles harmoniously with the music of the "gamelangs."

Towards the middle of the day every one goes home, but only to return to the temple later on. This time it is to take the offerings, which the women carry on wooden platters on their heads and the whole family, husband, wife and children, go together to place these before the goddess of agriculture inside the temple enclosure. The pamangkoes, garbed in white, mutter a few prayers, after which the offerings are said to be acceptable by the goddess.

From the temple they all proceed to the sawah, as there are further solemnities to be performed here; at sunset there is a grand procession to the river, accompanied by music and every pomp, so that by the time the people reach their homes it is already dusk.

There is however not much interval for rest, for the real feast is only about to begin, and this of course is in the temple. Here, says Liefrinck, there are little girls, called "sangiangs," who execute a sort of religious dance.

Numbers of people lie down and fall asleep from sheer fatigue and are anxious to recuperate their strength for the coming night; meanwhile groups of women quite overcome by the burning incense and the monotony of the chanting, have reached that stage of spiritual rapture, which we have described in an earlier part of the work.

In the meantime, distinguishable above the singing is the sound of the "gamelang" playing a melody, which is only heard when the so-called "goerek" is about to take place:

"By degrees—thus does Liefrinck describe the performance—the people become more and more excited; they unsheath their krisses or seize hold of a spear and then begin those wild fantastic dances, which continue all night long and which take place in the enclosure of the temple, with no other light than that of the moon, the rays of which cannot pierce those high surrounding walls and the dense mass of shrubs and trees. If the participation in the revelry is large it is not long before about a hundred of half-naked figures with loose-hanging hair are seen to be rushing about excitedly, pretending either to stab themselves or others. The dance is led by the klian and at intervals he is surrounded by a crowd of these howling creatures; they kneel down and he sprinkles their throats with toja-tirta or arrack, in order to give them fresh strength and vigour.

"Little by little the women begin to join the dancing community; even young girls, dressed in men's clothes, wearing tight-fitting jackets and carrying krisses in their belts, execute elegant dances. It is however women of a certain age who appear to be most susceptible to this furious religious intoxication; they too fly around with krisses and spears and their behaviour towards the men present is certainly somewhat forward.

"This Saturnalia is kept up until the morning, but as dawn appears the uproar subsides and the scene proves less attractive; it is impossible for these ecstasies to continue in the face of day!"

Let us at least hope so! But the Balinese is not a man to be easily satisfied and the whole of the next day is devoted to dancing and feasting and consuming the delicacies which had been prepared for the gods—these only having abstracted the immaterial portion,—while, last but not least, there are the cock-fights which continue for several days within the temple enclosure.

It is compulsory for every member of the soebak to take part in all the dancing, feasting, etc., these rites are considered necessary to obtain a good harvest!....

Surely after having carried out punctiliously all the ordained formulas and not having failed to utter certain "mantras" while planting the seed, a plentiful crop may be expected. But supposing the desired results be not obtained; well, then there is no doubt that one has been guilty of some sort of negligence in the matter of sacrifices and there is no one to blame but one's self!

From the little we have said, it is clear that the significance of the soebak regulations can be in no way underrated; it is most remarkable to find such an institution amongst a native tribe. The rules of the society are based on the principle of equality, only laying down laws exclusively for the good of its members, at the same time allowing to each member a large measure of autonomy, thus, says Liefrinck, verifying the words of Montesquieu: "that the produce of the earth is less dependent on its own fertility, than on the freedom of its inhabitants!"

In view of the immense importance of the wet rice culture all other agricultural pursuits have fallen into the background.

After the paddy has been gathered in, the sawahs are utilized for various other more or less valuable crops. First of all there is maize which is grown very extensively—not as a second crop—but on certain high-lying lands in the North of Lombock, called tegal-districts, where it would be impossible to carry the water necessary for flooding a sawah. Although enormous quantities are cultivated, it is all required for home consumption.

This is not the case with the "kadjang," (Pandanus odoratissimus) which is widely planted in the "tegal" districts and which, though used as a vegetable by the islanders themselves and as fodder for their animals, is chiefly looked upon as an article of export. This is more particularly the case with the "kadjang idjo," which is sent chiefly to China where they distil a very excellent kind of arrack from it. The demand must naturally be very large, when it is known to cost one third less than rice in Lombock, whilst it produces one-third more arrack.

Although cocoa-nut trees are very abundant in Lombock, still the oil derived from them does not suffice for the inhabitants and large supplies are obtained from Bali; the kampongs are all very plentifully provided with all sorts of fruit-trees.

Cotton is grown very extensively, especially in the mountainous districts on the N. E. coast. It is said to be of exceptional quality, even superior to that of Macassar, which is noted all over the Archipelago.

There are also sugar and tobacco plantations, but only producing enough for the island itself; the sugar cane is excellent.

"As I have never seen such fine sugar-canes as in Lombock, says Zollinger, it is my opinion that this island is as well if not better adapted for plantations than Java and large sugar factories might be built on the island. I have heard it said that attempts to carry out this plan have been suggested, but the Rajah is adverse to the idea and refuses the necessary assistance. The princes even object to large coffee plantations, assigning for their reason that they do not wish to attract European attention to their island."

That is why they have always strenuously opposed them and made them almost prohibitory by heavy taxation:

"We also had coffee plantations—say the Sassak chiefs in the letter at the beginning of the book—but after the harvest the prince sent his men to seize it, so that we had not even enough coffee for our own use. Whenever even two or three katis (one kati = ¾ lb.) were found in any one's house, it was immediately confiscated, in addition to which the owner was fined, etc."

Possibly the princes from their own point of view saw no particular injustice in this conduct, but it is to be hoped that henceforward these plantations as well as the rice culture will be encouraged and that in the freedom of extension they may develop as widely as possible, for certainly there are few places where the combination of soil and climate is so conducive to their growth.

What we have further to say regarding the administration of the country is borrowed from Liefrinck's "Contribution to the knowledge of the Island of Bali:"

The causes which actuated the organizing of "soebak-guilds" were the same as those which led to the formation of "dessas" and "dessa—guilds," at a much earlier period, probably even before the Hindu religion had supplanted the old one.

"Balinese dessa at Ampenan."

The increase of the population made it apparent that the near-lying fields and farms were not numerous enough to supply the requirements of the people; so the young men used to go to more distant ones, leaving their homes early in the morning and returning late at night. By degrees however the distances became greater and greater and during the busy seasons it would have incurred too great a loss of time

to make the daily journey backwards and forwards, so that they built themselves little temporary huts where they lived during a part of the year. As time went on and more people went to the out-lying districts, returning so seldom to the old home, their interest in the new dwelling grew stronger and gradually they brought various members of their family with them and finally the whole family settled itself in the new district and this was the origin of the Balinese dessa. Endless dangers surrounded these aboriginal settlers: malicious and evil spirits, noxious animals, jealous neighbours, booty-seeking marauders; no wonder then that they felt that their only safeguard against their common enemies lay in a union of forces for mutual protection.

Thus it was that these "dessa-guilds" were formed; and in spite of the lapse of centuries, in spite of the introduction of wet rice culture with its own particular societies, and in spite of all the changes wrought by the Hindu-Javanese worship, these dessa-guilds have survived to the present day, still obeying the same rules as when they were first founded.

The simple little houses of worship, properly-speaking the "kemoelan dessa" which were usually found beneath the shade of some rich forest tree and where the people assembled to make their offerings every five days, have long since made way for the present gorgeous dessa-temple, which we have described.

Many new gods have been brought into their land; new priests have taught new doctrines, still the greatest reverence is always shown to the original deity who watched over the dessa and protected it in its infancy, when surrounded by so many perils.

Just as the soebak meetings were held in the soebak temples, so were the dessa meetings held in the dessa temples; for this purpose the "balé-agong" was built—(it is a long shed) and this by degrees became the great centre of all social intercourse; it was here that they all partook of the festive repast, which is so prominent a feature of those long nocturnal ceremonies, to which we have referred while speaking of the "soebaks," and here it was too that new members were enrolled, generally on the birthday of the patron god of the dessa.

The number of members was limited and since the foundation of the guild there has been no variation in this rule. When a member dies he is replaced by his eldest son and in default of sons by his next-of-kin. The new-comers are not placed at once on an equality with the older associates; they have to go through a term of probation first. During the assemblies and on high feast-days they are not permitted to sit on the "balé-balé" in the balé-agong, but have to content themselves with sitting on the floor and this rule is strictly adhered to, no matter to what caste they belong or what position they hold outside. They must begin by waiting on the older members, so that they may in time become worthy members and be fitted to take their share in the management of the dessa.

They all advance in turn until at last they get a place on the bench; they go on advancing until finally they reach the top end, where are

the seats occupied by the real ruling powers, the council of the ancients or the seniors—the "ramadessa" (really meaning "fathers" of the dessa). All have to display the greatest possible care in taking their seats, not to go one place too high, and especially never to be absent from a meeting, nor to appear unsuitably attired and while belonging to the serving brothers not to forget the flowers and mats for the balé-agong and the sirih for the senior members; just as at the soebak meetings there are very stringent rules, the "Kerta sima dessa," and the infringement of any of them is very severely punished.

In this wise the members of the dessa-guilds, who are the representatives of entire families and who may be considered as the direct descendants of the original founders, constitute the legal and executive authority. They regulate all local matters concerning the dessas, they maintain and expound the "adat," (law founded on ancient customs) and all the other inhabitants of the dessas owe them obedience. The other inhabitants of the dessas are the various members of each family, who under certain circumstances are bound to second the head of the family. and the "sampingans," that is, strangers who have migrated to the dessa and settled there; they are freely admitted to the temple rites, but they are too ignorant of the dessa traditions to be allowed a voice in the assemblies.

In many dessas there is one person who occupies a still higher rank than the "fathers" and that is the "pasèk." His sphere of activity is chiefly of a religious nature and it is probable that in olden times he was one of the followers of the ancient religion. The pasèk is held in high esteem by the people and his position corresponds to that of the pamangkoe of a later period and of whom we shall have occasion to speak, when referring to the modern dessas, at least those which date their origin after the introduction of Hinduism.

Besides the "pasèk" there was another important person admitted to the dessa-guilds and that was the "penjarikan" or village-clerk.

As the dessa increased in size the revenues augmented and likewise the expenditure and it became necessary to have an efficient man to attend to the finances. Although ostensibly occupying a position inferior to the "pasèk" and the "fathers" he could not fail to have a far-reaching influence, both as treasurer to the guild and as a man of learning; he was chosen for his cleverness only and had not to go through the tedious term of probation to attain his post.

Excepting the distinction in which they were held the members of the dessa-guilds did not enjoy many material advantages. In the old days when there was land to be distributed they were allotted a double share—but now they only receive a double share of the temple offerings and are exempt from vassalage to the prince.

Regarding this vassalage or feudal system, be it said that it was regulated according to the ownership of the land—as the dessa-guilds obtained possession of the soil, it became the duty of their members to be at the disposal of the prince and the gods. In course of time the

possession of the land passed from the dessas to individuals and with the land the duties attached to it.

Not to enlarge too much upon this topic, we will only say about these dessa obligations, which were also binding on women and childern that:

When the boys have attained the age when they can be more advantageously occupied than by looking after the buffalo-oxen,—the age when they are allowed to carry a kris in their belts—they are expected to perform certain duties in the temple, such as playing the gamelang and executing various dances. To the girls too, are allotted a few light duties, which are increased after marriage.

Usually one year of exemption from service is allowed to a newly-married couple, to give them time to settle their private affairs, but after that period their names are inscribed on the register kept by the "penjarikan" and they must hold themselves in readiness for all duties required by prince, temple or dessa. It is perhaps needless to say that the "Kerta sima dessa" contains very definite clauses and no cases of neglect, deception or transgression are allowed to go unnoticed and unpunished.

On the other hand, account is taken of circumstances which might arise in every household; and as we have said before the old men are released from their term of service when their eldest sons replace them or if through failing strength they should be unfitted for work.

As we said before, not all the dessas can boast of such an ancient origin. In the formation of the later ones, where the privilege to construct the balé-agong was not recognized, the inhabitants united, as it simplified their duties both spiritual and temporal, while their individual interests were better guarded. At this period the early dangers had disappeared and that strong feeling for very close union no longer existed; new-comers were more frequent and insisted upon the same rights as those who had preceded them.

In these newer dessas, instead of the "pasèk," there was the "pamangkoe" at the head of the temple-service and the executive authority was vested in one man, the "klian-desssa,"—and in a more democratic spirit,—every inhabitant of the dessa could claim membership of the guild when he married.

The "klian" is elected from amongst the members, according as the gods appoint. Very little benefit is attached to the post, which really entails a good deal of trouble; as a rule a "klian" who has proved himself satisfactory is succeeded by his son. In case of a new choice having to be made, it would be detrimental to the priest's authority to designate for the post an unsuitable person, the chances being that the people would not accept him, for, however simple and believing the dessa inhabitants may be they expect the gods to select an intelligent klian!

They are not so very stupid after all!

Sometimes there is a special "penjarikan" as in the older dessas, but as often as not this office is included in that of the klian.

Naturally, the dessa rules lay down very minutely what are the duties of the klian towards the members of the guild.

Finally, sundry coercive measures may be resorted to in order to enforce the rules laid down by the "Krama dessa" or the "klian"; these vary from a small fine to the penalty of death. In the latter case, it is compulsory at once to inform the deity in the temple and the "Pumbuckle," the prince's representative.

Certain offences entail expulsion from the dessa-guild; in that case an oath is taken never to cross the threshhold of the guilty man, not

Balinese dessa at Mataram.

even in cases of sickness or death, nor to provide him with food or fire. He is no longer admitted to the temple; no Balian-dessa (village-doctor) may give him physical aid, and no "pamangkoe" or "pasèk" may give him spiritual comfort.

The "kalas" have full power over him, and if he or any member of his household die, the village burying-ground is closed to them.

The body is left to its fate, no prayer is offered up, no offering is made for the release of the soul....

This insight into the dessa administration shows us the power and independance possessed by the guilds; it shows us that equality is one of the primary conditions, therefore we can safely allege that they do not owe their existence to the influence of Hinduism, with its narrow laws of caste and its one-sided justice. The same reasons which preclude our giving the exact date of the origin of the "soebak-guild," prevents our giving that of the dessa-guilds; presumably they reach back to the period when the Hindu-Javanese established themselves at Bali and the dessa-guilds acknowledged them as arbitrators if they promised not to interfere with the adat. The ancient customs and rules must have been written down and submitted to the sanction of these arbitrators, who became princes later on, and who no doubt introduced a few conditions of their own or added a few formalities from the old Hindu laws—this would account for the discrepancies in the dessa manuscripts.

The natives, having an inborn veneration for all things old, attach considerable importance to these manuscripts and the rules of the guild,—which are written on from ten to twenty lontar leaves, held together by a wooden cover, are kept wrapped up in cotton-wool inside a handsome case in the temple, where they are entrusted to the care of the pamangkoe. (As they were often stolen from the temple, says Liefrinck, it was considered wiser to transfer them to the house of the klian or the penjarikan, where they were accorded a place of honour.)

When the rules have to be consulted, it is necessary in the first instance to obtain the consent of the gods. When this is granted costly offerings are prepared, incense is burned and the rules are produced to the sounds of the sacred gamelang and amidst a solemn gathering.

In consequence of these endless formalities, it is rare to meet any one who is really acquainted with all the rules, which are sometimes not read to the people for a generation.

From the little we have narrated regarding the dessa family-life, it will, we hope, be sufficient to prove that just as Hinduism has only touched the outer surface of their religion, it has failed to penetrate into their social institutions, which like their gods originate from the time when Polynesian heathendom was all-powerful.

How is it that all these different dessas, forming as it were so many small republics, came under the sovereign rule of the Balinese princes?

It follows as a matter of course that disputes must have arisen from time to time amongst these numerous dessas and that they became more frequent as their territorial borders touched one another; these disputes were not always amicably settled and the remembrance of these border warfares has not yet died out amongst the inhabitants.

Eventually it became evident to all concerned that these continual hostilities were to the advantage of neither litigant and so it was decided to refer all matters of contention to arbitrators who were to pronounce judgment on the question at issue. Where these arbitrators gave evidence of tact and skill, their influence was bound to make itself felt and an

ever-increasing number of questions was submitted to their judgment, thus it came to pass that groups of dessas, who, although having nothing else in common, selected the same judge to settle their differences.

Once invested with a certain amount of power, these men sought to extend it; this was the origin of the Balinese princes, who owe their descent to the free choice of the people and not to any god-like source.

Although many changes have occurred with the increasing power of the princes, still the inhabitant of the dessa has the right to refuse obedience to the prince by reason of the basis on which his authority rests, viz., that he is entitled only to the voluntary respect and homage of the people."

How did the princes exercise their control over the dessas?

As the territories over which they ruled grew vaster, it became necessary to have the assistance of subordinates, both in order to keep better informed of what was going on in the more distant districts and also that these deputies or representatives might transact business of an unimportant nature.

A representative—a poenggawa—chosen from amongst the prince's relatives or from amongst the most influential families of the neighbourhood was appointed to superintend a certain number of dessas, forming a district. In some cases the "poenggawa's" authority was not defined by boundary limits; for instance if a "poenggawa" were chosen from a "Sudra" family, he only exercised power over the members of his own caste, and all the other inhabitants within his district were only amenable to the prince.

As it was impossible for these "poenggawas" to represent the prince adequately in far-reaching districts they again appointed a "Klian-mantja" for every dessa.

This personage is often brought into contact with the adminstration of the dessa, by having to confer with the "fathers of the dessa" or with the "Klian dessa." He has however no share in the management of the internal affairs of the dessa, and he is only consulted, as we have seen, in cases of dispute, which the dessa-guilds are unable to settle, and which are then placed before him or the higher placed poenggawa for arbitration. If the parties concerned are dissatisfied with his decision, they can bring the matter before the prince, who passes judgment with or without consulting his Brahmin priests.

In virtue of the "metilas" *i.e.* right to refuse obedience, the dessa inhabitants could refuse to obey to a poenggawa who did not suit them and could request the prince to substitute another in his place; so that although it is evident that there were mediators between prince and people, these formed no body intervening between the two, but acted simply as representatives of both.

In return for the protection afforded them by the prince and in gratitude for his acting as arbitrator, the people undertook certain obligations towards him. They provided abundantly for all his needs; they

gave him the best their land produced, they made it their business to build his poeris and maintain them in repair; they accompanied him on his travels and helped him to carry on his wars. The prohibitory laws of the dessa regulations were not applicable to him.

This then was the legal position of the Balinese princes and all these prerogatives had been freely bestowed by the people.

Not content with these privileges, they have abused the power conferred on them and have left no stone unturned to make it absolute and to enrich themselves at the expense of their subjects.

In the centre of their domain they have built an extensive settlement, a veritable fortress, a poeri, inhabited by people dependent solely upon them and devoted exclusively to their service. As we have seen, they raised taxes on the most important land products, first on the cultivation of rice, on the running water, which was originally claimed by the dessas and then they levied import and export duties.

They have claimed both the effects and real estate of all who die without male issue and also the estate and effects of all who are condemned by the law to suffer the death penalty.

Cock-fights for their benefit are taking place nearly all the year round and when all these taxes fail to satisfy their greed, then they let loose their "panjoerans" to prey upon the people.

The Balinese have submitted to this usurpation of power with Eastern resignation and have made no complaint against all the oppression and extortion. They patiently submit to see their princes leading lives of pleasure, dividing their time between women, opium and cock-fights; they are sometimes detained for days at the capital when they wish to consult the prince on business connected with the dessas or kampongs, for as often as not he is engaged watching the "gamboehs",* which continue for days, and cannot be interrupted for business.!

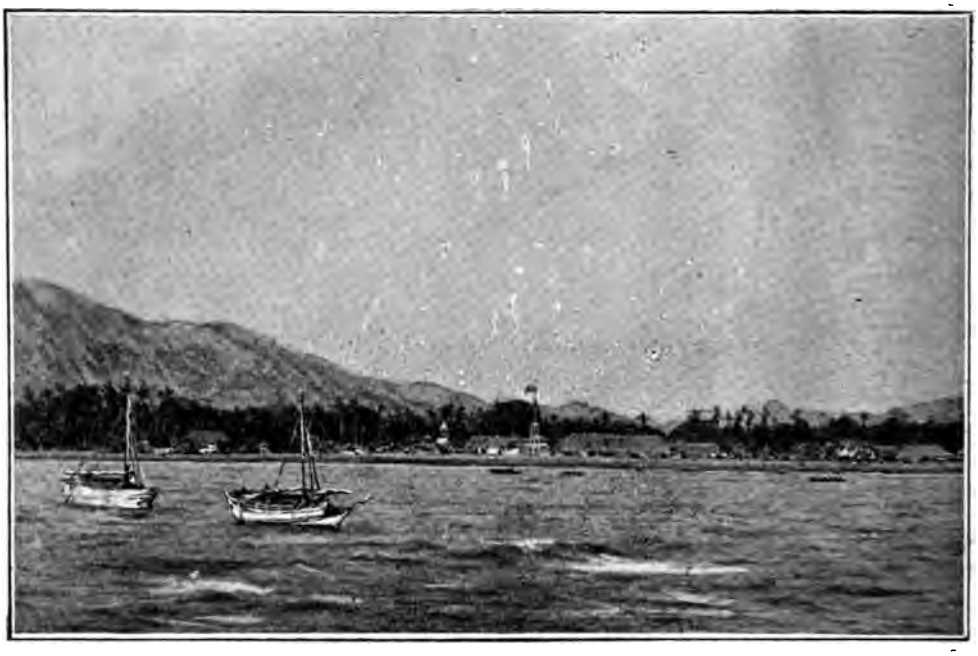
"Such, says Liefrinck, is still at the present day the conditon of the independent states, only it is too faintly drawn, for the private history of every poeri cannot possibly be described in these pages; the cringing servility with which every whim and desire of the prince is gratified, joined to the knowledge that he has supreme power over life and death is responsible for this shocking and scandalous condition of things!"

It sometimes happened at Bali, that when the conduct of the princes grew beyond endurance, the people made use of their prerogative to refuse them obedience and transferred their allegiance to some other petty sovereign. As time went on however the fear of our intervention had a salutary effect in checking too glaring abuses. At Lombock where the various small Balinese states were all ruled from Mataram, things were in a very bad way, for here the Rajah's sway was unbounded and there were no petty sovereigns, whose rivalry was to be feared and there was no redress for his Balinese subjects. The Sassaks themselves fared considerably worse though; they had no voice in the administration and all the best and most remunerative posts were given to the Balinese.

* Dancing boys and girls and the performances in which they take part.

It was only by compulsion that they obtained such inferior positions as tax-collector or pumbuckle (village-chief). Some few still bear the title of raden (title of nobility) as evidenced in the letter written by the Sassak chiefs—Zollinger presumes them to be descendants of those chiefs who formerly submitted to the Balinese without any opposition—but beyond this imaginary independence and very few privileges, they are not recognized as holding any official rank and they are never permitted to take any share in the government.

The Balinese princes divided the Sassak territory into districts, which in cases of dense population, were again divided into sub-districts, generally corresponding to the old Sassak kingdoms, the capital of which



Roadstead of Ampenan (some years before the Expedition).

has always been Praja. The government of these districts was entrusted to their chief Idas and Gustis, who were appointed "poenggawas"; instead of giving them fixed salaries for their services, they received extensive tracts of land, with the additional right to enrich themselves as much as they could by every imaginable kind of extortion or in any other illegal fashion they could devise.

It is needless to say that one means generally resorted to, was that of appropriating for their own benefit a fair share of the prince's tax—and their attitude towards the Sassaks was worse than tyrannical:

"Besides working for the princes, we were compelled to work also for the subordinate Balinese chiefs and yet, in spite of this we have

suffered harsh treatment. People are put to death without trial and for very slight offences. If these chiefs were angry with any one, he was accused of some crime or other and sentenced; we dared not rebel. Frequently our property, such as "sawahs", gardens, buffalo-oxen and cows were taken from us without any compensation whatever....

"Every year the taxes have been most unjustly raised.

"If the princes or any of the notables wanted anything, either people or horses or wearing apparel, they simply took them from us, without seeing any need to give an indennity*....

"Our sons were often made slaves and our girls...."

We have heard all these complaints in the letter from the Sassak chiefs and we think that we are enabled to form an opinion on the manner in which the Sassak population was ruled.

So conscious were the poenggawas of their evil deeds and so much afraid of the consequences, that they dared not establish themselves in their respective districts, but resided at Mataram, the centre of Balinese power, or in the neighbourhood of this capital and from here they sent forth their orders and their tax collectors and spies who were to keep them informed of the frame of mind of the people and their plans and they in turn imparted what they considered necessary to the prince. This is the way in which the poenggawas ill-treated and oppressed the people in the name of the Rajah; this is the way in which he himself reigned as an autocratic despot, sucking out the very life's blood of his subjects and living in splendour and dissipation bought at the cost of so much hardship and injustice.... and finally, under the pernicious influence of Anak Agong Madé, becoming more brutal and barbarous day by day, and year by year!

It is time to return to the geographical description of the island.

From a military point of view, our attention is at once drawn to Ampenam, the most important commercial town, not only on the West coast, but of the whole island of Lombock.

As we have seen, it is from this port that the large cargoes of rice are exported, and the imports landed here are chiefly tobacco, horses, oxen, hides and kapas (movable decks for protection against the waves made of light wood). Here too Lombock receives her supplies of salt, arrack, linen and cocoa-nut oil; in case of blockade the island would be deprived of these articles. On the strand is raised the flag-staff, discernible at a great distance and so well-known to all our officials, flying the Lombock colours: red, white, blue, white and red, with which flag we had to content ourselves instead of our own Netherlands standard in order to have our Suzerainty acknowledged by the treaty of 1843! All there was to protect it, were a couple of old cannons, only fit for firing salutes; there were no signs of anything else to guard it....

* Controller Heijligers tells us that the princes did not consider it wise to allow the Sassaks to own more land than would produce sufficient for their private needs; anything over and above was taken from them. No more landed proprietors were permitted amongst the Sassaks!

Behind the flag-staff, about 500 mètres from the shore, stands a magnificent and gigantic waringin tree, forming a prominent landmark for our ships. In former times the Netherlands Indian steamship company had an agency here, but now it consists of a few stone dwellings and store-houses belonging to the prince and to some merchants settled there, besides which there were four kampongs inhabited by Bugis, Malays, Balinese and Sassaks.

Many advantages are attached to this spot as a landing-place. To begin with it offered at least during the East monsoon, a very safe place for

Waringin-tree in the market-place at Ampenan.

vessels to ride at anchor. The water being very deep quite close to shore, even very large ships can anchor within 700 mètres of it; at a distance of 300 mètres from the flag-staff it is 17 mètres deep; at 750 mètres it is 20 mètres; and at 1500 it is as much as 31 mètres deep. Besides there was no other point situated so close to Mataram and Tjakara Nagara, the centres of Balinese power; it was the most convenient starting-point, leading along the best and shortest roads to the places where the troops would be called upon to carry out their operations.

Still even during the East monsoon this landing-place had one insurmountable defect; we will quote Wallace's description:

"The bay or roadstead of Ampenam is extensive, and being at this season sheltered from the prevalent south-easterly winds, was as smooth as a lake. The beach of black volcanic sand is very steep, and there is at all times a heavy surf upon it, which during spring-tides increases to such an extent that it is impossible for boats to land, and many serious accidents have occurred. Where we lay anchored, about a quarter of a mile from the shore, not the slightest swell was perceptible, but on approaching nearer undulations began, which rapidly increased so as to form rollers which toppled over on to the beach at regular intervals with a noise like thunder. Sometimes this surf increases suddenly during perfect calms, to as great a force and fury as when a gale of wind is blowing, beating to pieces all boats that may not have been hauled sufficiently high upon the beach, and carrying away incautious natives. This violent surf is probably in some way dependent on the swell of the great southern ocean, and the violent currents that flow through the straits of Lombock. These are so uncertain that vessels preparing to anchor in the bay are sometimes suddenly swept away into the straits, and are not able to get back again for a fortnight! What seamen call the "ripples" are also very violent in the straits, the sea appearing to boil and foam and dance like the rapids below a cataract; vessels are swept about helpless, and small ones are occasionally swamped in the finest weather and under the brightest skies.

Zollinger also says that very little wind is necessary to produce such a heavy surf that neither loading nor unloading a ship is possible.

The new moon and full moon tides are so high that all communication between Ampenam and the harbour is temporarily suspended—the water rises more than 5 feet higher than under ordinary circumstances (8 to 10 feet); the waves beat with such extraordinary force against the beach that the houses in the neighbourhood are shaken to their very foundations.

Whatever may be the cause of this sudden tempestuousness, it has to be taken into serious consideration, when the harbour not only serves as a landing-place, but as the basis of operation.

If the position leaves something to be desired during the East monsoon, during the West monsoon the roadstead is entirely at the mercy of the winds and surf, so that even large ships are no longer safe and have to keep outside the bay; and as long as the wind is high there is no question of anchoring or landing.

These difficulties led to the attempt to build a jetty in times gone by, says Zollinger; but the technical difficulties in the way were too great then, though they have now been overcome and a pier is in course of construction.

A particularly sheltered place, protected from all winds is Labuan Tring, also on the West coast, but further South; it is hardly worth mentioning Tandjong Karang and Padang Reak, for they present the

same obstacles as Ampenam, without the corresponding advantages.

Able seamanship is essential to reach this port on account of the reef at the entrance of the bay, but once inside it ships are perfectly safe,—at least as regards dangers from the high seas, but other perils, not to be treated with scorn, are apt to overtake the unwary!

Mr. King had a dock built here for the construction and repairing of ships, the neighbouring forests supplying him with abundant material; but he lost nearly all his men by sickness, so that this bay has a bad reputation and ships never touch here unless driven by dire necessity.

This introduces the all-important question for an expedition: what are the health conditions of the country?

At first sight, says Zollinger, one would feel inclined to declare the island very healthy; the land is well cultivated and lies high, the water is excellent; marshes in the proper sense of the word there are none—the long narrow tracts along the coast from Ampenam to Tandjong Karang being more trenches than marshes—and both mountain winds and sea-winds blow all day long and moderate the excessive heat. (Zollinger gives the temperature from 69° to 91° Fahrenheit; Mr. King, who resided so much longer at Lombock gives the extremes at 67° and 104° Fahrenheit) "Still, writes Zollinger, my sad experience is that with the exception of Pidjoe on the East coast, the climate of Lombock is dangerous. Just as at Ampenam and Labuan Tring, severe fevers were raging on the whole length of the North coast." How account for this extraordinary fact, in face of the apparently favorable hygienic situation?

Zollinger was unable to solve the problem; he tried to find an explanation in the exhalations from the volcanic soil, which are much to be feared during the season of the West monsoon. Without pronouncing judgment, might we not suggest that not too much value must be placed on this idea without a minute examination of the soil and may we not surmise that the prince in his dealings with Zollinger somewhat exaggerated the danger in order to discourage the presence of the hated foreigner?

Was not the health of the troops excellent during the first period of the expedition?

In no case would it be fair to ascribe to the climate of Lombock all the sickness that overtook our men; the consequences of the war, overstraining, fatigue, privations, insufficient protection from climatic changes, all these are in themselves quite enough to have a deteriorating effect even on the most robust. Let us remember Badjo and Atcheen, etc. We think that the fact that illness only appeared later on and by degrees, is a plea in defence of the salubrity of Lombock under normal conditions.

To go back to our bays and harbours, we must not omit to mention the bay of Padjoe, near the little town of that name; according to Zollinger it is to the East coast what Ampenam and Labuan Tring are to the West: that is to say, it combines safety and facility of access, added to an exceptionally healthy climate.

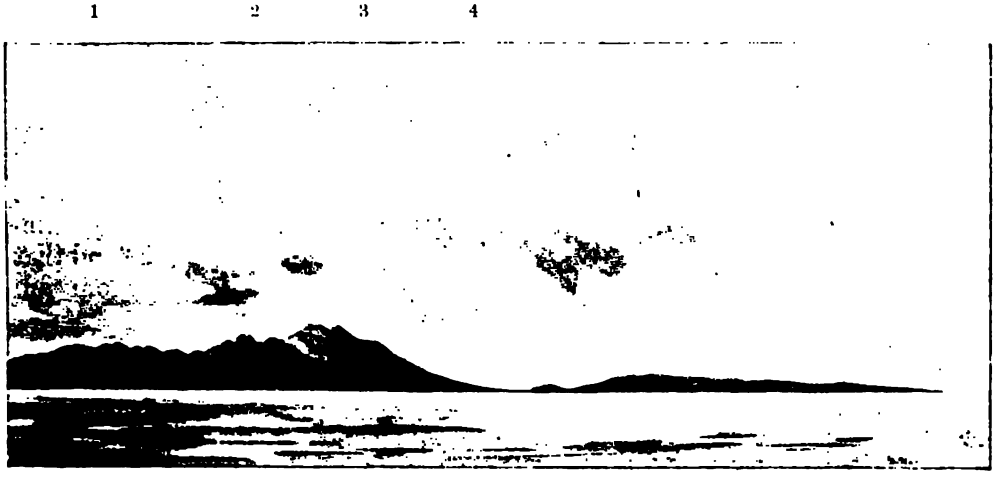
It would be invaluable from a military point of view, were it not for

the long distance which separates it from Mataram — 64 pals (1 pal = 1506.94 mètres),* says Zollinger, or nearly the whole breadth of the island; but as a port for the Sassaks themselves to import weapons or other materials, it offers innumerable advantages.

The more northerly situated bays of Labuan Hadji and Lombock have the same drawback—that of distance—without offering the corresponding advantages as Pidjoe; Labuan Hadji is dangerous even during the East monsoon.

Telok Blongas on the South and Sogean on the North, both present difficulties of distance and are really of minor importance.

Central Lombok is traversed by a long valley running from East to West of the whole island which is only broken by a small hill, the Gunong Sesan, about 100 feet high and having a surface of 10 pals; further it is bordered both on the North and the South by two wide




Coast of Lombock.
1. Goenoeng Wangsit; 2. G. Poenikan; 3. G. Rindjani; 4. Roadstead of Ampenan.

and almost inaccessible mountain chains which separate it from the coast The Southern chain, starting from Lombock's most South-Western point, Tandjong Bangko-Bangko and continuing to Tandjong Ringit on the S. East, is the less important—the summits not rising above 1000 feet—but owing to the impenetrable forest growth and the total lack of roads or paths, it may be said to form an almost impassable barrier for troops. The Northern chain is connected with it by the low-lying range, the Gunong Sesang above mentioned; the latter chain however forms a striking contrast to the Southern range; it is of volcanic origin and forms a mountain mass of considerable height and breadth. From the Gunong Wangsit near Tandjong Rombeh, about 10 pals north of Ampenam, there is one unbroken chain to the G. Ponikan, after which —accounts differ as to there being bridle paths suitable for troops— we have one formidable clump of mountains covering the entire surface

* 1650 yards, *i. e.* nearly a mile.

of N. East Lombock and only terminating at Tandjong Pandan-Pandan on the East coast.

We think it almost superfluous to say that we are now at the foot of the famous Gunong Rindjani or Peak of Lombock, whose 1200 feet summit conceals the Dewa Agong of the Lombock Balinese, the deity with whom the old Rajah had that remarkable interview related by Wallace.

Let us seek further acquaintance with this giant amongst our Indian mountains from Zollinger, the only European, who has hitherto made the ascent. A description of the difficulties encountered by one single individual will serve to illustrate, although somewhat faintly, the herculean task of moving an army through virgin mountain lands.

It was on the occasion of a second visit to the prince Bato Agong Ketot Ngorah Karangassim and his brother Rato Agong Gedeh Ngorah Karangassim that Zollinger requested leave to make the ascent, which permission had even been refused to Mr. King.

The prince raised numberless objections—one must remember the superstitious fear of the Balinese for this mountain—there were too many perils and he would probably meet with an accident.

"I informed the prince, through Mr. King, says Zollinger, that I was accustomed to climbing high mountains, that I feared no accidents and that I did not intend to leave the island without visiting the Peak. Mr. King further added on his own account: "If you refuse this gentleman's request, they will say at Batavia that you mistrusted him and that would make a bad impression on the Dutch government with whom you are on such friendly terms!"

"With whom you are on such friendly terms!" How times do change! At that time however they were hoping to be raised from out of their position as vassals; it was just about this time too—July or August 1846—that our first expedition against Bali had taken place, which through its speedy and favorable issue (to us) had so deeply impressed the Rajah of Lombock and his brother! They were always wanting Mr. King to tell them about it and were never tired of listening to his account of the battle of Boelèleng:

"They would not or could not believe that all was over in less than three days and above all they could not believe that a Balinese rajah had sought safety in flight, instead of remaining with his people in his kraton and fighting to the death as demanded by the adat and the honour of a Rajah!"

Strange freak of destiny!

That very same brother, whom Zollinger saw as "a young man of 28 with certainly the most intelligent countenance that I have ever seen on any man of the Malay race, with a good-natured smile, but a little satirical," that same brother after becoming the curse of his people by his infamous savagery and oppression, ended half a century later by surrendering himself to that government whom he had so long defied, instead of "remaining in his poeri with all his men and fighting to the death, as demanded by the adats and the honour of a Rajah!"

Zollinger succeeded in obtaining leave to ascend the Rindjani on the strength of the motives that had been urged by Heer King, but not before signing a paper to the effect that, should any mishap occur to him, it would be entirely his own fault and no one else would be to blame.

With that suspicion, peculiar to the native, the Rajah fancied that Zollinger had been sent to the island for the express purpose of getting him into trouble, for he felt convinced in his own mind that an accident was bound to happen during the ascent and then he expected the government to take advantage of it and this would lead to complications.

Provided with the necessary letters of recommendation from the Rajah's prime minister to the chiefs, who might be of service to him on his journey, and a special one to the principal Raden, the Sassak chief, who lived 18 pals from Mataram, the naturalist started on the 3nd of August with a few attendants, two interpreters and a number of coolies.

"The first day we did not make much progress and spent the night at Pringa Bata, where the rajah has a small hut, which serves as his dwelling-place when hunting in the neighbourhood.

"As we were not expected at Pringa Bata, which is but a very small and poor kampong, we experienced some difficulty in procuring a little rice, oil and a chicken. My letter from the gusti to the pumbuckle was of little or no use, as the latter was unable to read. On leaving Pringa Bata the land is less cultivated; there is a long forest to traverse which, leads to a hilly district covered with alang-alang (imperata arundinacea).

"At Batu Klian, the place where the Raden of whom I have spoken lived, I required a horse and a few men. Accordingly I went to his house to present my letter, but found that he was absent from home, stag-hunting. His brother was so disagreeable that I had to depart without my request being complied with. The Raden at Batu Klian is the most powerful and independent Sassak chief, which acounts for his disregard of the Rajah's orders being passed over with impunity. (This was before the great rising in 1855, after which the Rajah's autority was enforced with far greater severity.) In the next kampong to Batu Klian, I again presented my letter and here my requirements were at once attended to.

"A few pals further the country is level again and the land is as well cultivated as on the West side of the island.

"Towards 5 p. m. we reached Loijok, situated South of the Peak of Lombock and only a short distance from the foot of the mountain; here we spent the night, so as to have a good rest and also in order to make the necessary preparations. The Raden received us courteously and did his best to entertain us, a pity he was so very slow about everything! He assured us that the ascent would occupy a fortnight at least and regaled us with the most terrible stories connected with such an enterprise, presumably in the hopes the narration of these horrors would cause our courage to fail and lead to our giving up our

plans. It was my intention to start on the morning of the 6th, but neither coolies, nor horses, nor provisions were ready at the appointed time. The Raden told me that I should find the guides and some rice at a kampong on my way; but I found neither. Then I sent word to the Raden that I should not proceed without first having everything I wanted. The pumbuckle of the kampong who had not obeyed his orders was arrested and sent to Mataram, where he was still in prison when I returned there.

"The science of procrastination was therefore not unknown even in Lombock!

"I was unable to continue my journey until the afternoon. Cultivated land was soon left behind and I penetrated the forests, where I had some difficulty in keeping to a path, which at times seemed to lose itself. In the evening the guides declared they only knew the way as far as the mountain, but with the paths in the mountain itself they were totally unacquainted never having been there.

"I of course dismissed them immediately and sent a message to the Raden saying he was to send me others without delay. My attendants were continually wanting to halt, especially at certain points, where burnt wood showed them that others had halted there before. I threatened to continue the expedition by myself, not only without guides but without coolies, and they could settle things with the Rajah from whom they knew what they might expect if an accident of any kind overtook me.

"This argument had the desired effect and we dragged on a little further, until we reached a spring, where I decided to stay the night.

"The following day after climbing first one height and then another, we finally arrived at the top, towards three o'clock in the afternoon and then I discovered that this was not the real summit of the Peak at all, but a much more southern point.

"Notwithstanding that this mountain top was enveloped by thick clouds, the sight I beheld was of the most imposing nature. The crest of the Peak is a vast lake, several pals long and wide; the different mountain tops within sight rise perpendicularly to from 2000 to 4000 feet above the ground which is covered by a small lake, lying about 2000 feet beneath me. The East border of the lake is skirted by a level tract, in the middle of which rises a cone-shaped carboniferous hill (rock) about 500 feet high, pouring forth smoke from every crevice and the ground is strewn with brimstone and other volcanic matter. The point which I had climbed was not the Rindjani but the G. Sankarean.

"To proceed was out of the question; the descent from the point was almost vertical and I was separated from the nearest of the neighbouring summits by a ravine about 1500 ft. deep. A furious East wind was chasing the clouds round the heights and creating such intense cold that the coolies were quite speechless and many of them had fever. They implored of me not to spend the night here and as I myself felt but little inclination to unnecessarily prolong my stay in this inhospitable

region, I decided to retrace my steps after taking an outline of the shape of the mountain."

"At an altitude of 8000 feet we found a small ravine, where sheltered from the intense cold, we settled down for the night. What tormented us most was a terrible thirst, for the natives had told me we should find water in plenty and I had been imprudent enough not to carry any with us, so that we could not even cook our food. My thirst became so intolerable that I spent the whole night drinking vinegar with sugar, which produced such severe inflammation in my throat that for days I was unable to swallow anything at all.

"The River Djangkok."

"On the 8th, before leaving the mountain, I climbed the nearest height to the one I had already ascended. The descent was easily accomplished and towards noon we had reached our first bivouac again; needless to say that we all hurried to the spring and slaked our thirst with a sense of appreciation such as is seldom felt. Soon after this we met the fresh guides whom we no longer needed. At 5 p. m. we were back at Loijok, to the great amazement of the inhabitants, who would not believe that we had climbed the mountain in three days and after this marvellous feat they looked upon me quite as a privileged being."

The points which Zollinger was unable to ascend were the Gunong

Bandeira, the G. Rindjani and the Waijan. In the middle of the group there is a fifth cone, the G. Api, which is the actual crater from which sulphurous fumes are always being emitted.

At the foot of the G. Wayan and the Sankarean is the lake of Danu or Segara Anak which Zollinger had seen from the top and which is said to contain hot water springs.

According to Van Eck it is from this lake that most of the rivers take their source and flow in the direction of the great central valley, thus irrigating the whole country.

Zollinger was more inclined to think that the rivers rise in the various Southern slopes of Lombock's great mountain chain. In any case all travellers who have visited this region are agreed as to the abundance of water, an abundance so rich, that with very few exceptions the rivers are never dried up, not even during the East monsoon and in most districts there is a sufficient supply of water to meet the requirements of the wet rice culture.

There are a great many artificial wells, especially in the neighbourhood of Mataram, where the drinking-water is excellent.

It is only possible for there to be a scarcity on the East coast near Pidjoe; at least this is what we gather from Dr. van Hoevell's translation of a book of travels written by an Englishman. There are no rivers of importance on this coast. It is quite possible that this part of the island is too far from the mountain range of North Lombock, which attracts the vapours of the East monsoon which return to the earth in the shape of rain.

It is only natural that the relatively small area of the island and the distribution of the mountain land should not permit of any very large or important rivers. Zollinger says that not one of the little Lombock streams is navigable, even for small boats. Still the number makes up for the size, at least on the West and North coasts.

In every direction these small shallow rivers come streaming down from the hills and fertilize the valleys below. Mother Nature has wisely laid their sources deep down in the mountain sides, but reluctantly submitting to their yoke, they burst forth whenever an opportunity offers and in their youthful exuberance, playful and frolicsome, they rush downwards through a thousand winding paths, sometimes leaping a hundred feet at a time, shooting forth with the suiftness of an arrow.

Youth is always in a hurry to reach its goal—but as years go by bringing wisdom along with them, the waters begin to flow more steadily and more measuredly until at last overtaken by inevitable fate they too reach the end of their career.

Which are the most important of these small rivers here on the West coast which take their source from the Gunong Sesan?

The most important from a military point of view is the Sungei Djangkok, running North of Mataram to Ampenan, crossing the main road between the two towns at about 600 mètres from the beforementioned flagstaff and flowing into the sea a little further south. No

bridge spans the river where it crosses the road at which point it is about 37 mètres wide, for under ordinary circumstances this presents no great difficulties and it is quite easy to ford it either on foot or on horseback. When however the stream is swollen by heavy rains it makes communication a more serious matter; this was experienced by Heer van Rijckevorsel when he started from Ampenam to pay his respects to the prince at Mataram:

"We started on horseback at 8 a. m. but we were soon convinced that it would be utterly impossible to appear in the presence of the prince, even in a fairly presentable manner. The river which we had to ford was very much swollen and owing to the heavy rain — it was the 24th October, the beginning of the West monsoon—the road, which at other season is very good, was a perfect stream and we were splashed up to our ears with mud!"

Later we ourselves suffered from the bitter experience, that no communication at all was possible at a certain period.

There is a second small river running through Mataram, which then pursuing its course in a more southerly direction, flows into the sea across the beach at Ampenan.

Further East between Tjakara Nagara and Kupang (the furthermost point visited by Wallace) the high road is intersected by sundry small rivers, such as the S. Banjak or Narmada, the S. Babak—which Zollinger speaks of as the largest on the West coast—and the S. Bakong, which all flow into the sea between Ampenam and Labuan Tring.

In a Northern direction from Ampenam is the S. Meninting, a little river that was crossed by the naval lieutenant Bollaan, when paying a visit to Gunong Sahari at his princely residence about $3\frac{1}{2}$ pals from Mataram, where it is wide but shallow. The other small rivers on the North coast are too insignificant for separate mention; but excepting during the East monsoon, there is plenty of water and the people are healthy and the soil is fertile.

On the South coast, where the close proximity of the mountain range to the sea does not permit of any fresh water streams, water is very scarce, barely supplying the daily needs of the sparse population inhabiting this inhospitable region—so that from a military point of view it is useless to discuss it.

We may thus safely assume that, the great valley of Lombock including the West coast which is the seat of eventual war operations, is well provided with water; but on the other hand we must not make too light of the serious difficulties bound to ensue during the West monsoon when the rivers are swollen and nearly all means of communication cut off.

We must still say one word about the roads. Of course we cannot mention them all, nor can we state with absolute accuracy the exact direction of each one with the names of the places through which they pass. We will content ourselves by speaking only of the condition of the roads in general.

The high road which cuts straight across the island from Ampenam on the West coast through Mataram, Tjakra Nagara, Narmada, Pringa Rata and Batu Klian to Labuan Hadji and Pidjo on the East coast, might be improved here and there, where it lies in Sassak territory.

The Englishman, of whom van Hoevell speaks and who visited Lombock in June 1845 (East monsoon) says this road is very good and he covered the entire distance in two days on horseback. Freyss on his return from Sumbawa (1856) took three days.

Controller Heyligers also says the road is good, varying from 10 to 25 metres in breadth and admitting of carts traversing it; then there are side-roads leading to the North-East through Kota-Radja to Lombock and others running South-East through Kediri and Praja to the bay of Pidjo and though these are less wide, still they are passable. It may be wisest to accept what Zollinger says regarding these side roads lying out of the master's sight.

"The remainder of the roads *can* be used by people on horseback although at times they are very bad, either on account of the rivers or canals, the beds of which not infrequently serve as paths, or on account of the steep gradients or the huge boulders which they are too lazy to move away. During the bad weather these roads must be atrocious and in certain parts absolutely impassable."

We may accept it as a matter of course that no improvements can have taken place lately during the agitation; it is one of the many duties which will devolve upon our government and we may rest assured that it will not be a thankless one. Referring to this subject Zollinger wrote:

"There are undoubtedly very few countries which present such facilities for intercourse, if the authorities would only make good roads and keep them in repair. Especially the road, running from West to East of the island and which is the main one, might at little cost of labour and money be converted into an excellent highway, thus adding very considerably to the prosperity of the country.

The roads in the Balinese portion of the island are mentioned very favorably by all travellers. At the beginning of this chapter we introduced a quotation from the "Tijdschr, v. Ned. Indië 1839" in which it was remarked that "all the entrances to the capital were overhung on either side by tall waringin-trees, which presented such a magnificent sight, as would scarcely be expected in Lombock."

"Never have I seen such lovely avenues with such fine wild fig-trees," says Zollinger, and elsewhere: "the road (from Ampenam to Tjakra Nagara) is good and would even be practicable for carriages, if there were only a few bridges across the numerous canals which intersect it."

Van Eck entirely concurs with this opinion and even gives the reason why the roads are so superior here.

"The more numerous the petty states, the less attention is paid to facilitating communication with the outer world. Were it otherwise unwelcome neighbours might look upon it as an invitation to pay

unwished-for visits. The princes of Lombock have no neighbours—excepting across the sea—and therefore there are no untimely visits to be dreaded, and this accounts for the facility of access from one neighbourhood to another only either on foot or on horseback. The most remarkable of all is the road from Ampenam to the capital Mataram: it is about 3 pals long and from 50 to 60 feet wide and with its double row of luxuriaut fig-trees may truthfully be called a "thing of beauty"! In the former town of Karang Assim (Tjakra Nagara) the roads and streets left nothing to be desired.

I cannot—says a visitor in 1858—think of any town in the Dutch Indies which would bear a favorable comparison with Mataram and Karang Assim, as regards the number or the width of the roads. The

Street at Mataram.

main road running from West to East through both towns is never less than from 100 to 120 feet wide; parallel with it are two or three narrower ones, whilst a goodly number of side roads cut across these thoroughfares at right angles, thus dividing the town into so many sections or blocks. It seems a pity that more care is not bestowed on keeping them all in a better state of repair and that bridges are not thrown across the innumerable little streams".

This latter evil has been somewhat remedied of late.

"The roads", says Dr. Jacob, writing many years later, "that we saw during our sojourn in the island were all excellent, they are all very wide (from 20 to 25 mètres) and they are planted with shady trees. There are bridges across all the rivers and streams, which one never sees in the independent Balinese states; for instance we passed a

very fine bridge near the prince's poeri. All along the roads there are pretty little fountains; if you want to refresh yourself or take a drink you need only take out the plug and the water streams forth in a thin jet.

"The roads are lighted by lanterns fastened to bamboo canes and placed on either side at intervals of 20 mètres. As the roads are very long and straight the effect is magnificent. A street illumination at Lombock surpasses anything of the kind in our first class Indian cities!"

For truth's sake, let us mention the fact that an illumination on this scale is only seen at certain periods, as on the occasions of religious festivals.

Whatever may have been the occasions, one fact remains certain and that is that interest will always centre round the now vanished city the former residence of the Balinese rajahs, with all its memories of past and recent grandeur! This is an opportune moment to describe what was known of the place before the expedition. The houses are of clay; the better ones are built in brick and thatched with paddy straw. The homesteads are surrounded by walls from a quarter to half a mètre thick, and two mètres high, if not more. Although these walls may not be proof against field- and mountain-guns, still the great number of them and the intricacy of houses and walls present very serious difficulties. For as soon as you have made a breach in one wall, you find yourself face to face with another. On the West and East side (presumably also on the North and South) of the place which runs for 1600 mètres along the high road from Ampenam to Tjakra Nagara, the walls of all the homesteads adjoin one another, conveying the inpression that Mataram is entirely surrounded by a circular wall.

Where the wall fails or where it is not high enough, there is a palissading of bamboo.

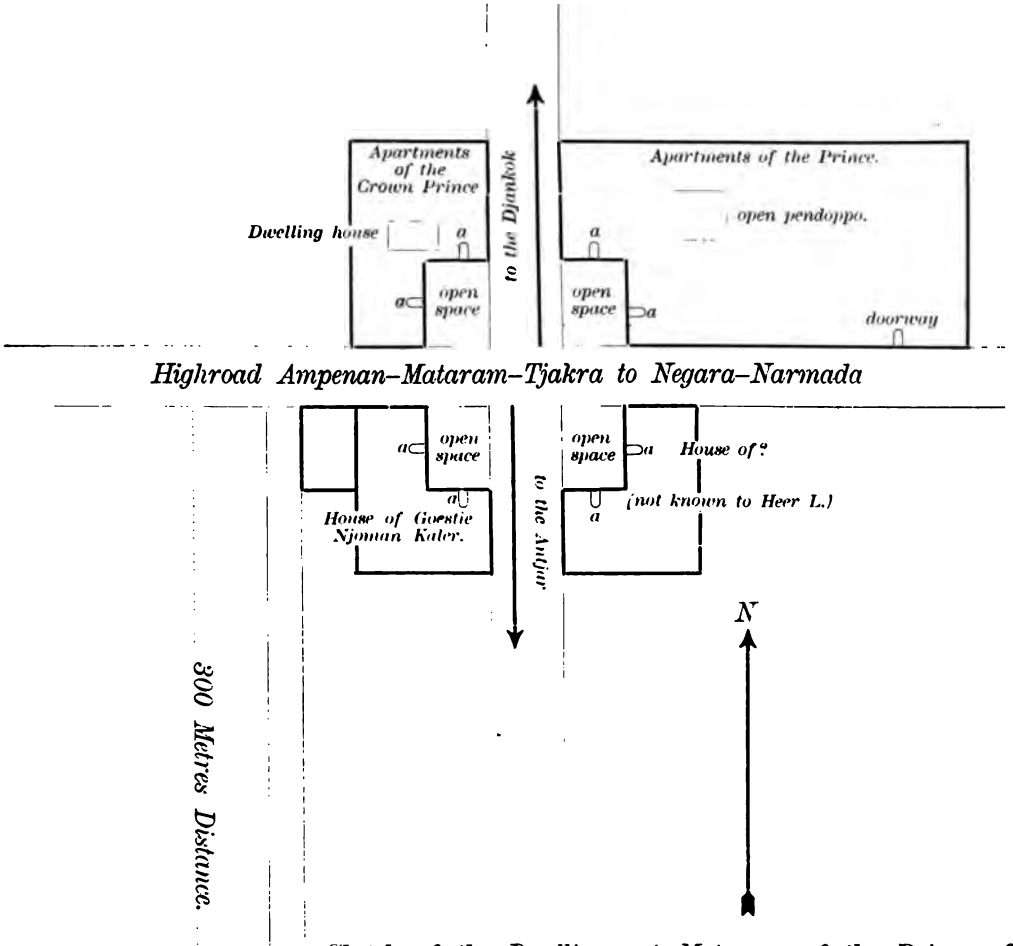
There are similar partitions placed right across the entrances to the town, 200 mètres West and 500 mètres East of it. Here and there the palissading and the town wall are provided with "randjoes" (caltrops); the palissading is doubly strong at the actual entrance and all the spaces are filled in with thorn bushes; the entrances are shut off by bamboo sliding doors.

About 400 mètres from the West border of the town the high road is traversed by a wall or partition running from North to South, viz., from Guning Sari to Pagasangan.

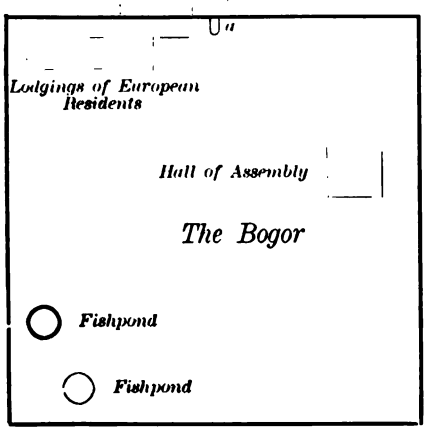
Immediately north of Mataram the S. Djankok crosses the road and immediately South the S. Antjar. The ground here is ± 10 mètres above the water level; the slopes leading to the rivers are very gradual and are paved with flags.

South of the section traversed by the S. Antjar lies the Sassak dessa Poenia.

On the northern side of the cross roads we have the residences of the prince and his legitimate son; that of the prince lies East, that of




*Sketch of the Dwellings at Mataram of the Prince of Lombock, the Crown Prince, and Goestie Njoman Kaler, one of the leading poenggawa's, Deputy of the Prince at Mataram: also of the "Bogor" or Dwelling where the European Residents always lodge.*




wall of baked stone or clay.
stone pillars with wooden palings.
a stone doorways with wooden doors.

*a. b. Hr. Ms. SS. Java.*
*Captain of the General Staff,*
*Granpré Molière.*

his son West. Both dwellings consisting of several separate buildings are surrounded by walls, which skirt the edges of the cross-roads. The chief buildings are of brick, the enclosure walls partly of stone and partly of clay; these walls are about 4 mètres high and ¾ of a mètre thick.

At the S. W. corner of the prince's palace and at the S. E. corner of the crown prince's, the walls stand back about 15 mètres, thus leaving open squares. These are divided from the road by stone pillars and wooden palings. Entrance to the palaces is obtained through wooden doorways in the stone gates. The prince's palace has an additional gate on the South side of the circular wall. North and East of the palace are very extensive kampongs.

Facing the palace of the crown prince and on the South side of the high road is the residence of the prince's chief poenggawa, Gusti Njoman Kaler; this is also surrounded by high walls, which stand back in one corner, leaving a square like that on the opposite side of the road. The house in the fourth corner is built on the same lines. West of the poenggawa's house and 300 mètres south of it, is a house belonging to the crown prince and standing also between high walls; it is called "Bogor" and contains apartments for European envoys; an assembly room and a couple of ponds are found in the grounds."

Dr. Jacobs who saw the prince's palace in 1881 says that "it is an old, unsightly place"; at least judging from the outside. The Envoys of the Hollando-Indian government were not invited to enter the palace. This privilege had been granted a couple of years before to two private individuals, Heer van Rijckevorsel and Heer van der Tunk; from these gentlemen we have not received many particulars about the princely abode. They were received in the front gallery, which like the apartments for the Envoys at Bogor, was decorated with a few old paintings and a large number of tiny looking-glasses; the prince, the crown prince and the priest were seated on chairs, the royal suite sat on the floor and an endless multitude of people occupied the fore-court. The prince stammered and stuttered and appeared exceedingly drowsy—the visits of Europeans seem always to have this curious effect on the prince—with nothing intelligent about him; the crown prince looked decidedly stupid. Excepting of course the princes, the only remarkable thing noticed by Heer van Rijckevorsel were the gorgeous dishes of embossed silver and gold on which refreshments were offered.

The apartments at Bogor were evidently very much improved by the time Dr. Jacobs saw them; at least he gives a more cheerful account of them:

"Four small buildings, light and spacious, with a front gallery serving as bedrooms and looking most inviting and clean! The front view looked on to a large square with four big ponds supplied with running water; the spaces between the ponds were nearly filled up with shady mangis-trees, and there were a couple of huts where our luggage was stored and our servants were lodged. The kitchens, which were beyond this square, were in very good order. As soon as we had exchanged

our travelling-suits for more comfortable clothes, we, as guests of high degree, betook ourselves to these attractive-looking ponds beneath the wealth of foliage and seated ourselves on the edge, each with a fishing rod, and with true Dutch patience we waited for a fish to bite. Beautiful fresh water with nice fish in it right in front of one's door must ever prove an irresistible temptation for a Dutchman!"

Although it might be very pleasant to linger a little longer in this charming El Dorado, we must go further in order to see the condition of Mataram.

About 350 mètres East of the cross-roads the road is crossed by the S. Antjar; at this point the river is about 10 mètres deep, but fordable during the East monsoon. True, there is a bridge over it, about 20 mètres wide and supported by a stone pillar in the centre; but it is in a rather delapidated condition.

The East frontier of Mataram is 900 mètres further; here begins a rice field 600 mètres long, the field so famous later on, as forming the place of bivouac for the 7th battalion.

Inside Mataram, 250 mètres South of the high road and 40 from the S. Antjar is a stone powder-magazine and a temple; and 400 mètres South of the prince's palace there is a prison.

To sum up then, Mataram although not a really fortified town, was possessed of very great means of defence. To our operations it was no doubt a very favorable circumstance that the town could be reached with the 17 c.m. shells fired from the ships lying in the bay of Ampenam; to do this an accurate knowledge of the position was indispensable. This was obtained when Dr. Jacob paid this visit to the prince; at 9 p. m. lieutenant Marinkelle of the navy sent up some rockets at Bogor, and the officers who had remained on board the steamer were able to gauge the position of the place. (The prince must have understood the meaning of this performance and cannot have been very edified!)

Although Mataram was the seat of government the prince preferred living in one of his numerous country seats, and principally at Tjakra Nagara, only separated from Mataram by the rice plantation we have just spoken of.

Of "the poeri that has only lately been built here", we only hear that it was very extensive and it took half an hour to walk round the enclosure walls.

Dr. Jacobs could only see the exterior of the palace, and as dusk had already set in, he could not form a very distinct opinion of it; he says: "it looks a magnificent building, with a very extensive square in front of it" with which we became only too well acquainted later on! "The palace and the roads were well lighted, which made a pleasant impression and with a little bit of imagination one might almost have fancied one's self in a European city."

Meanwhile although we knew that Tjakra was an important town and that it was laid down on the same plan as Mataram and had a large

market for native produce, still, we are obliged to confess that we were not so thoroughly acquainted with the extent and the paramount importance of this more modern town, as we were with the condition of other Lombock towns.

We will only say of the former Karang Assim, that in the war with Mataram in 1838, it was like the latter, only on the West side, strengthened by a row of fortifications, but nothing is left of them now.

Concerning the other conntry seats, of Lingsar, the favorite abode of the notorious Anak Agong Madé, we know nothing; all we know of Pringa Rata, where Zollinger spent the night when proceeding to make the ascent of the Gunong Rindjani, is that it possessed a large deer park.

Narmada, the last palace in course of construction was visited by Heyligers in 1884, at which period it was not completed; it was built in shape of an amphitheatre, and there was a temple situated on the highest of seven terraces, and various small pavilions at different heights and several fish-ponds.

We have been made acquainted with "Gunong Sari"—the mountain of flowers—by the visit of Zollinger and later by that of Dr. Jacob.

"The road from Mataram—writes the latter— was very varied, there were small dessas and magnificent sawahs. Like all the other roads through which we had travelled in Lombock this one was wide and shady. One little bend in the road and we were at our destination. Never shall I forget the impression that I experienced when this gorgeous panorama unfolded itself to our view as if by magic; although it would be beyond my powers to impart that impression to others by a mere description, still I will try and depict what I saw. We found ourselves facing a large square, having for background a wood lying on the slope of a hill. On our left was a low hill covered with shrubs and grass; on our right were numbers of small buildings standing on mounds and built in Hindu style. In the middle of this open space which was 4000 mètres square there were four small artificial lakes, also of a quadrangular shape and at the four corners were large Hindu images in good repair; each lake was furnished with water flowing from the mouth of a monster crocodile. In the middle of these lakes, the largest of which was 80 mètres by 80 and all of which were in perfect order, there was a beautiful Hindu temple, surrounded by Hindu figures and fountains. There were similar little temples and kiosks on the tops or on the slopes of the hills on our left.

"The wood which formed the background to this wonderful panorama, was peopled by hundreds of deer, which were so tame and unsuspecting of harm that they peered at us from amongst the trees; they were too tame to be fired at so we decided to unload our guns and enjoy the beauties of nature around us.

"After we had all somewhat recovered from our amazement, we went to inspect the little buildings on our right; these were reached by ascending from 20 to 25 high stone steps, or rather these steps led to an extensive platform on which these little buildings had been erected.

They were mostly kiosks with Hindu figures and fine carvings; in one of them they brought us refreshments. There was one big building which attracted my attention particularly, but it was locked, so I presume it was the prince's sleeping apartment. The entire frontage of this kiosk was decorated with frescoes, allegorical pictures from Balinese life."

We have mentioned in an earlier part of the work how the prince had disapproved of some of them.

From the height on which we stood we commanded a superb view of the whole domain; it was as if one had been suddenly transferred to one of the scenes of the "Thousand and one nights!" The famous "Little Trianon" of Madame de Maintenon may perhaps have boasted more art and more comfort, but certainly it could not boast more lovely nature!"

This "lovely nature" to which Dr. Jacob refers reminds us that we have a little to say about the *flora* and *fauna* of Lombock; so we will conclude with it.

Zollinger says that the *flora* does not differ much from that of Bali and Java. It is the soil of the South with its steep hills, rocky coasts and its ever varying formations, which offers the greatest diversity. In the mountainous districts the flora is much less rich than at Java: parasitic plants, orchids and ferns are much rarer and are not found at all on the Rindjani summits. The same thing is noticeable as regards other plants on corresponding heights. Thus Zollinger found only 20 varieties on the top of the Sangkarean, whereas on the crest of Salak at Java he found at least 150. On the Ardjuno, 1000 feet higher than the Sangkarea, he found 30 different kinds of plants. The forests are also much denser at Java.

"The deeper one penetrates the mountain forests of Lombock", says Zollinger, "the less serried are the trees and progress from one section to another is not nearly so difficult as in the Javanese forests where the underwood is so thick.

"The most characteristic feature of the Jungle in Lombock—says Wallace—was its thorniness. The shrubs were thorny; the creepers were thorny; the bamboos even were thorny. Everything grew zig-zag and jagged, and in an inextricable tangle, so that to get through the bush with gun or net or even spectacles was generally not to be done, and insect-catching in such localities was out of the question. It was in such places that the Pittas often lurked, and when shot it became a matter of some difficulty to secure the bird, and seldom, without a heavy payment of pricks and scratches and torn clothes, could the prize be won. The dry volcanic soil and arid climate seem favourable to the production of such stunted and thorny vegetation, for the natives assured me that this was nothing to the thorns and prickles of Sumbawa, whose surface still bears the covering of volcanic ashes thrown out forty years ago by the terrible eruption of Somboro."

"The great palm, called "Gubbong" by the natives, a species of Corypha, is the most striking feature of the plain, where it grows by

thousands and appears in three different states: in leaf, in flower and fruit, or dead. It has a lofty cylindrical stem about a hundred feet high and two or three feet in diameter; the leaves are large and fan-shaped, and fall off where the tree flowers, which it does only once in its life in a huge terminal spike, on which are produced masses of a smooth round fruit of a green colour and about an inch in diameter. When these ripen and fall the tree dies, and remains standing a year or two before it falls."

"Troops of monkeys (Macacus cynomolgus) may often be seen occupying a tree, showering down the fruit in great profusion, chattering when disturbed, and making an enormous rustling as they scamper off among the dead palm leaves; while the pigeons have a loud booming voice more like the roar of a wild beast than the note of a bird."

This brings us to Lombock's *Fauna* "Regarding the *Fauna*" says Hollinger, "it would be more important to mention those which are ***not*** there than those which *do* inhabit the woods and the hills of the island. If it is an acknowledged law in the division of plants that the smaller the islands and the more distant from the mainland, the smaller also is the number of indigenous plants, we may aptly apply the same law to the division of the animal kingdom in the islands of the Indian Archipelago. By reason of their facility of migration birds and fish form an exception, but to a less great degree than might be expected.

"Sumatra possesses several species of monkeys, Java three, Bali two and Lombock only one—the common grey monkey. Tigers, panthers, wild cats and wild dogs are unknown and the rhinoceros and the elephant are conspicuons by their absence.

"Ruminants are no less numerous than at Java. Stags are very plentiful, as also kidangs, (roebuck) bantings (wild oxen) and buffaloes which have become wild.

"Domestic animals abound in the island; tame cats are not very common; dogs just as ugly and bad-tempered as at Bali; horses....."

We must say something about the horses at Lombock; they constituted one of the chief articles of commerce and are still the most importan means of transport. Here, like at Bali, "pedates" (carts) are unknown and everything is carried on horseback which is not carried by the people themselves. We have already heard from Zollinger what large quantities of rice are carried daily to Ampenam packed up on the horses backs and Wallace also mentions seeing "a string of horses bringing rice" to Ampenam.

To prevent the rice from getting wet when the horses ford the rivers, it is packed on very high saddles. These pikol-horses laden with 3 pikols (1 pikol = 125 lbs.) of rice sometimes cover as many as 20 pals or more in one day, even on bad roads and across the hills.

These are excellent little animals for military transport! And they are so plentiful too! Heyligers reckons there must be about 600.000 of them—just as many as there are inhabitants in the island.

They are not beautiful to look at; they are half like the Balinese

horses and half like the Bima horses; they stand less high but are broader-chested than the former and their coats are short and smooth instead of rough; poor things! they do not get much looked after and they are left out in the meadows both day and night until wanted. When they are required for riding purposes neither saddle nor reins are used.

In Zollinger's time a large trade was done in horses by French vessels which carried them to the Mauritius and the Isle of Bourbon.

The cost price at Lombock varied from 20 frs. to 75 frs. and very large profits must have been made, for no fewer than 30,000 of these animals were exported annually. It is more than probable that this wholesale fashion of selling would have finally exhausted the stock! However, since Lombock's rajah, who naturally wanted to derive as much benefit as possible from these transactions, put a tax of 25 frs. on every horse exported, the trade has been considerably reduced, for which we are very grateful to his Ex-majesty!

The cattle of Lombock is of the same breed as that of Bali; the bullocks are used in the plough, but are not quite so numerous as at Bali, owing to the fact that beef is not eaten in the latter island, while large quantities of it are consumed in Lombock by the Mohammedan population. On the other hand, just for the opposite reason, buffaloes are plentiful and are used principally for ploughing the wet sawahs. As a matter of course there are not so many pigs at Lombock as at Bali; goats are to be met with, and as in many other countries they are generally owned by people less blessed with this world's goods. But to possess sheep is a mark of distinction and it is only the prince who owns any; they are all of foreign origin, chiefly from Sydney.

As regards the feathered tribes, there are thousands of ducks, bred chiefly on account of the eggs which are salted down; and the number of these is exceeded by chickens, cocks and hens there are in plenty; the former, more specially prized as being so much in demand for the national sport! Besides these domestic birds there are many birds found on this island which are quite absent from the islands westward and belonging to the Australian varieties. Small white cockatoos are abundant, and their loud screams, conspicuous white colour and pretty yellow crests form a very important feature in the landscape; the Megapodidae, (or mound-makers) indigenous to Australia and the surrounding islands are also found here, they are allied to the gallinaceous birds, but differ from these and from all others in never sitting upon their eggs, which they bury in sand, earth or rubbish and leave to be hatched by the heat of the sun or by fermentation; then there are magnificent kingfishers, beautiful ground thrushes, pretty grass green doves, little crimson and black flower-peckers, large black cuckoos, metallic king-crows, golden orioles, and the fine jungle-cocks, from which all our domestic breeds of poultry originate..... who would not love to linger with Wallace, who has given us such a fascinating description?

But it is beyond the scope of our work and we have already enlarged

more than was intended on matters geographical; the interest of the subjects and the richness of material must serve as our excuse for digression.

It seems positively incomprehensible that, when the question of the Lombock Expediton was discussed in the Second Chamber on the 20th and 21st November 1894, it should have been stated that our knowledge of the country aud its people was so limited, as to be deserving of censure.

From what we have written, it is evident that we were thoroughly acquainted with the power, the nature, the manners and customs, the social and religious institutions, the strength, the weapons and the resources, not only of the enemy we had to fight, but also of the people we were going to have as allies. We were familiar with the probable ground of operations, which comparatively speaking presented no insuperable difficulties, rather the contrary. We knew what the objects were against which our strength was to be directed, the position, the construction, the condition, the size of Tjakra Nagara, now a place of the past!

Would delay have furnished us with any more reliable information?

In former times it might have been feasible to have had our civil representatives accompanied by staff-officers in civil dress when they went to pay their visits to the prince, but latterly our relations with the prince have been too strained and as we have noticed, our envoys were no longer received at Lombock; and even had they been, what information could they obtain, escorted as they were from the moment they put foot in Ampenam until they reached their apartments at Bogor (Mataram) and strictly watched the whole time they were there?

In 1892 captain Granpré Molière of the General Staff was sent to Bolèleng (Bali) in Lombock waters to try and obtain as much information as he could, but he was not even allowed to go on shore—how then was he to set about accomplishing his mission?

There were no Europeans in Lombock upon whom he could rely; the few who were there had far too many interests in common with the Rajah, for their information to be of any value. All that he could learn was from our own officials at Boulèleng and from one or two Chinese and Malay merchants established there and who came on board the *Java*. Of course information received in this manner has to be taken with reserve and it was far from satisfactory.

So our Colonial Minister was quite correct when he stated that "we know exactly as much of Lombock as we could manage to know!"

Can as much be said of some of our earlier expeditions?

It is not our place to reply to this question, so we let it pass unanswered. We cannot however forbear adding that we shall always consider ourselves fortunate, if in case of future campaigns we are as well informed about the country and the people whom we have to fight.

## IV.

## OUR EARLY CONNECTIONS WITH BALI AND LOMBOCK.

The 2nd April 1595 was the all important day when the first Netherlands fleet started from the Texel for the East Indies, where the foundation was laid of that matchless kingdom, which is the most precious gem in Netherlands, crown.

The origin of our power over Insulinda was very insignificant. Only three ships, the *Mauritius*, *Hollandia* and *Amsterdam* and a yacht, the *Duyfke*, with 250 men in all, formed the first fleet.

No less remarkable than the insignificance of the fleet were the elements which composed it: "rough and disorderly young men, regular ne'er-do-wells," as de Jong tells us, "sons of respectable, rich parents, wanting less in courage, boldness and strength of mind than in love of discipline and duty, and whose absence from home was more desirable than their presence there."

After two years of hardship and adventure and having lost several of their respective crews they reached Bali, where they hoped to find water and victuals. Here they made permanent friends and during the month spent in the bay, paid several visits to the island. Aernout Lintgens of the *Hollandia* has left an interesting account of his experiences; he gives many details of the customs, government and produce of the island, etc.

"On the 9th February 1597, I received orders to go ashore and towards evening I landed with John the Portuguese (a slave they had bought at Bantam); I met Manuel Roedenborrich with the Keyloer, who asked why Pauweles van Caerden never visited the island now as he had promised to come again. I informed him that we had understood that the king was anxious to see other men of our nation, which was the reason of my visit; this explanation satisfied him."

The acquaintance was made.... when our friend announced his wish to have an audience of the king, he was immediately questioned as to what presents he had brought for His Majesty. Pauweles van Caerden, besides what he had already given, had promised the king some "yellow velvet"; this would account for the disappointment of the Keyloer, when he saw an empty-handed stranger!

U of M

All difficulties were removed when van Caerden offered glass beads, coral and coins for the king, who would surely be pleased to see European money; and he promised to send the "yellow velvet" next day. The king was "a short thick-set man, with 200 wives and looked very simple and good-natured. He took great pleasure in coming on the beach to see our ship and he liked to hear the guns fired off." He used to come in a sort of wooden vehicle, drawn by two white buffaloes; he drove himself and always carried a long whip in his hand."

Besides riding in this "state-carriage," the king had another fad; he had collected about "fifty dwarfs, who from their infancy had their arms and legs bound fast and these deformities looked like figures on the hilt of a poniard." However the king was able to concentrate his attention on less childish things and displayed great interest in us Dutchmen and asked many questions about our country. By the express desire of H. M. we showed him a globe and a map of the world, explaining to him the positions of different countries; to impress the king with the size of our country, we took the liberty af annexing "Germany, Austria, Norway and a slice of Muscovy," which had the desired effect of making him feel that his own little island was not a very important possession.

After a further interchange of courtesies and presents (amongst the latter, "an ugly dwarf from the king of Bali for king Maurice of Nassau as a token of friendship") the "Hollandia's" crew took their leave of this hospitable coast; two remained behind, Emanuel Roodenburch and Jacob Claes van Delft.

The road to the East Indies was found, the barrier was broken and competition was open to the entire nation!

We may perhaps condemn the manner in which our forefathers planted our country's colours in the East Indies, but we are bound to admire the gigantic efforts made in the short period of 17 years to equip 15 ships and send out men to make treaties, to establish factories and even attack the proud Spaniards and Portuguese in their rightful possessions.

In 1601 Prince Maurice despatched Heemskerck to Bali with a letter and presents for the king, who was much flattered; not to be behind-hand in compliments, H. M. also sends presents and a letter to the Prince.

There was a personal present for Heemskerck, consisting of a beautiful "Balinese lady."—At a loss what to do with her—not daring to refuse the gift for fear of offending the king he suggested that she should have her liberty; the lady herself refused to take advantage of this act of generosity, so there was nothing to be done, but receive her graciously and take her home.

The King's letter to the prince, dated 7 July 1601, gives leave for

all Dutchmen to trade in Bali like the natives themselves and the King's great desire is "to see Bali and Holland one!"

How delightfully simple of that old Balinese King!

In gratitude, the envoys said that they would call Bali "Young Holland"!

Like many other things in this world this "friendship" was not a lasting one.

Our ancestors were not long in making acquaintance with the sister island and the report runs:

Prince and Notables of Bali.

"Lombock is East of Bali and on the maps is called Little Java there is an abundance of rice, which is very cheap; quantities of it are sent to Bali, only a day's distance; a good deal of cotton is grown on the island, which is ruled by the King of Bali."—This is the King's version of the case; as we shall see, others claimed possession of this country.—"The Javanese do a large trade here in slaves, cotton, cloth and rice and make large profits."

For some unaccountable reason the relations between Holland and

Lombock were very unimportant; and matters with Bali were at a standstill.

Efforts were made by Governor-General Hendrik Brouwer in 1633 to enter into closer connection with Bali. He wanted the king of Bali to take part in hostilities against the Susuhunan of Mataram, who was causing endless annoyance to the East India Company, notwithstanding his having been defeated in his two attacks on Batavia.

On the 7th February 1633 the Governor-General wrote to the Directors of the Gen. East India Company:

"We have decided to send a special mission to the king of Bali who is engaged in continual warfare with the Susuhunan of Mataram; it would be to our advantage to keep the latter busy in his own country, and with this object in view we propose sending assistance to the King of Bali in his struggle against our mutual enemy.

"Amongst the many presents to H. M., are a fine Persian horse, some red cloth, a vat of wine, a gilt chair, two gilt candelabras! A flattering letter accompanied these gifts, which were gratefully accepted by the King!

Very precise instructions were given to Oosterwijck and the other envoys, regarding their attitude to the king; the rules of the East India Company were once more thoroughly explained to them—they contained those principles, which insured the rapid progress of the Company and have not yet lost their value, although the fact is frequently lost sight of.

The Governor-General for some reason best known to himself recalled Oosterwijck, who was replaced by a military envoy, Jochem Roeloffsen van Deutecom, who was given the title of "Commander":

Finally a third envoy was sent to the King of Bali, the well-known missionary Justus Heurnius.

"The "commander" was especially instructed to urge the king in a friendly way to continue the war against Mataram; the advantages he would secure in return for this act of friendliness to the Honourable Company were very great. For one thing they mentioned "that they were distressed to hear that the King of Macassar had seized Bima, belonging to Bali" and that they were ready to assist the King of Bali against his new enemy.

They did not ask the king for any land for the good services they rendered, but would be quite satisfied with some of the inhabitants of the conquered territory,– (they wanted slaves from 15 to 25 years of age) a yearly subsidy of rice and a few boats. . . ."

How discreet the Honorable Company was in its claims!

Unfortunately all this metaphorical bowing and scraping ended in failure this time; none of the envoys were ever admitted to the king's presence. As a set-off against their generous offerings, the king sent them: 8 sacks of rice, two oxen, two pigs, two suits of clothes and 3000 pitjis! (small coins).

They tried to discover what the king thought of the proposals contained in the letter addressed to him—but they could learn nothing beyond the fact that he had understood the contents! With this crumb of comfort they were obliged to go home.

In those days human nature was pretty much what it is now and no end of abuse was heaped upon H. Brouwer; however in 1639 the king of Bali applied to the Governor-General for help against the Susuhunam, who had invaded his territory. At this date we were trying to negociate with Mataram, so the reply to the request was somewhat cool. Matters not progressing as rapidly as we desired with Mataram, we befriended Bali again; and so things went on. However in 1647 we were on good terms with Mataram, for in that year, the Susuhunan bought weapons at Batavia to fight the King of Bali." Naturally enough this transaction aroused the anger of the Balinese King, who was our ally, and it is not surprising that our traders were treated less cordially and that prices were raised.

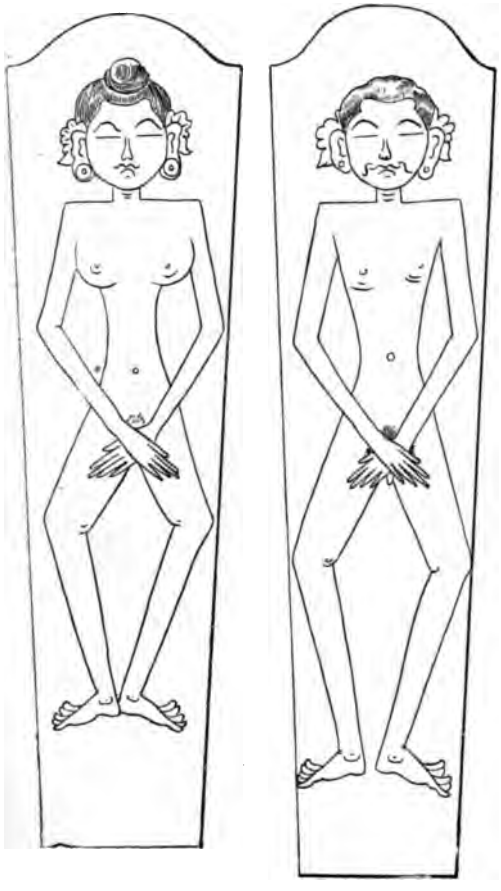
"Lombock Notables".

It is impossible to follow the Honorable Company in all their early transactions with Bali; it is time to see how we first came into touch with Lombock or Salamparang, as the island is more generally called.

During the first half of the seventeenth century the power and brilliancy of Macassar was indisputable; when the Portuguese landed there in 1512 the natives were very rough, but greatly attached to the customs of their ancestors. The invaders introduced gunpowder and a little civilization and after encountering a spirited resistance the followers of the Great Prophet succeeding in establishing their religion there at

the beginning of the 17th century. From that time forth Macassar spread her power and her religion over the neighbouring countries and islands, also her industries, chief amongst which was the trade in nails.

Naturally, in addition to the Portuguese, other commercial nations were attracted and we see the Dutch, the English and the Danes successively trying by fair means and foul to push their trade and make themselves agreeable to the Court of Macassar, which was clever enough to turn all these intrigues to its own advantage.



Figures in bamboo representing deceased members of a family.

Although reluctantly admitted by the natives, the fact remains that Lombock was included in the possessions of Macassar. We find in the diary of van Chijs, (Batavia 1640-1641) that on the 30th October, a young man had arrived from Macassar with the news "that the king of that place had gone with many ships to punish his rebel subjects at Lombock" and the news was again corroborated two days later.

Lombock was not only a bone of contention between Macassar and Bali—but the country was in a state of revolt against its own ruler and was further exposed to the piracy of the Sumbawis.

By the treaty of 12th June 1641 concluded between the Hague and Portugal it was declared "that only the Netherlanders and no Portuguese should frequent the islands of Bali and Lombock." But "Bima" on the island of Sumbawa and Timor were open to both countries. In spite of this treaty the "Company" and Portugal were doing each other as much damage as they could and we were brought into continual conflict with Macassar; finally we were obliged to make peace with Macassar in 1656, as we were very much harassed by a rising in the Moluccas. This was the period of Macassar's greatest glory, when it actually concluded a treaty with Susuhunan of Mataram! And the Company's existence was threatened on all sides. Our forefathers knew no fear or faltering and in the hour of danger they displayed remarkable energy and daring.

In 1660 they took the bull by the horns and equipped a powerful fleet of 33 sail, manned by 2800 stout seamen who were sent to Amboyna under pretext of driving the Portuguese away from Timor; they soon changed their course and steered for Macassar, and in the bay they found six richly-laden Portuguese vessels at anchor.

These were immediately attacked by the Dutch ships, "just to give these Portuguese who had always maligned us to the king of Macassar as miserable cowards, a little taste of our courage!" Needless to say, we had the best of it; not content with beating our enemies at sea, we succeeded in achieving a triumphant landing and did not lay down our arms until the Sultan sued for peace.

He was beaten and humiliated but not vanquished! He was determined to be revenged and henceforward he spared no efforts in preparing for the decisive fight for supremacy in the East.

It was then that Macassar equipped seven hundred vessels with a force of 20.000 men and Crawford speaks of this fight as the fiercest sea-fight of any period in the History of the Indian Archipelago.

Cornelis Speelman, in the employ of the E. S. Company was chosen to lead our troops; he was a man of rare talent, unusual intelligence and remarkable perspicacity, combining perseverance and strong will with bravery and prudence. On the 24th Nov. 1666 he left Batavia with 13 ships and 500 Dutch and 300 native soldiers and was in Macassar waters on 19th December; he was supported by many of our native allied princes, chief amongst whom was Rajah Palacca. Within a year the citadel of Macassar was taken and re-named "the fort of Rotterdam", and the very advantageous treaty of Bonay was concluded on the 18th Nov. 1667.

The following year the king made one more attempt to throw off the hated yoke, with the result that he was again defeated and more stringent clauses were added to the treaty he had ignored.

As in course of our work we shall refer to the agreement concluded between the king of Macassar and Heer Cornelis Speelman, (ex-governor of the Coromandel Coast) we will briefly mention the articles it contained:

I. All arms and cannons possessed by the people of Macassar must be surrendered;
II. all their fortresses must be dismantled;
III. all territory conquered by the East India Company and Allies during the war, shall remain their property;
IV. all the expenses of the war, assessed at 250.000 rijksdollars (4/8) must be refunded.
V. as a penalty for the recent breach of the treaty of Bonay a claim is made for one thousand slaves, young, healthy, and full-grown.

The downfall of the once powerful kingdom of Macassar would necessarily affect the neighbouring islands, Lombock included. Sumbawa had taken advantage of our troubles in Macassar to obtain influence and authority there, but apparently we were on good terms with all four kingdoms with which Sumbawa was divided: Sumbawa, Bima,

Tambora and Dompo. The friendship on their part was however assumed and we soon heard that the king of Bima had given leave to our old enemies the Portuguese to build "a fine fortress," which was a breach of the contract of Bonay—We had worse enemies to fear than these! The people of Macassar were any thing but satisfied with the subjection of their ruler and they were the immediate cause of disturbances in different islands. Thousands left their homes, gave themselves up to piracy and robbery, carrying terror wherever they went, always instigating the natives to rise up against the hated foreigner.

In a report of 1673 we find that the Macassar pirates were driven from Bima to Lombock", but at Sumbawa—the state—they succeeded in inciting the Notables to rise against their king, who at this time was also ruler of Lombock. A force was sent to assist him under Jan Fransen Holsteijn but did not meet with success. The Notables refused to listen to any plan of conciliation; all were agreed that the king had overstepped all limits and was guilty of very heinous offences, which they could not condone.

Balinese weapons.

The Macassar pirates who had fled to Lombock did not continue friends with the king's rebellious subjects for long and wrote to Jan Fransen Holsteijn for help to attack "Salparang" one of the most important towns of Lombock; before this however Lombock had been forced to accept the articles of a treaty with us!

Peace was not of long duration; and Singrawarangh, one of the chiefs, was the next cause of anxiety; he informed the Company that he had no intention of acknowledging the defeated king as his sovereign and that he had no wish to receive any of their representatives, or in any way have any thing to do with them!

Our first expedition to Lombock cannot be called successful and the prince whom we had tried to protect was driven away by his rebellious subjects within twelve months!

In the register of 1679 we hear for the first time of "the Balinese of Lombock"; freed from the oppression and fear of the domineering Macassar kingdom, the Balinese seem to have taken advantage of the disturbances in Sumbawa to spread their power over Lombock and later on over Sumbawa itself. Their work of extension was bound to bring them into conflict with the Macassar pirates and so they naturally became our allies. The first serious struggle of the Balinese in Lombock was in 1692.

At this period the four states of Sumbawa were all more or less at

war and the Governor-General considered it expedient to send an envoy to try and settle matters. Furnished with detailed instructions Sr. Joannes Junius was despatched to Bima, Dompo, Tambora and Sumbawa. Of the 13 questions in dispute amongst these kings, we will mention one. The Rajah of Tambora complained that a large number of his subjects were detained at Salaparang against their will; the Rajah of Sumbawa declared himself to Junius irresponsible for what occurred beyond the limits of his state."

The other points at issue were all settled, information to this effect being sent by the Rajah of Sumbawa to Fransen Holstëijn in a rather amusing letter in which the native prince sends "his greetings to the ladies," and winds up laconically with the news that "the Balinese have destroyed the village of Salamparang in Lombock" but he does not know any details.

The Balinese further threatened to attack Sumbawa and even the rajah of Boni; in consequence of this information Holsteijn considered it advisable to hold a council with all the signatories of the treaty of Bonay; "but to take no positive decision before seeing His Highness Aroe Palakka—rajah of Boni—who was absent at Tenette."

François Holsteijn showed common sense in this; having placed him on the throne of Boni and allowed his power to increase, it was only right to watch over him. Besides which he was a very sagacious prince, as we shall see. A special messenger was hurried after him to tell him of his perilous situation, the rajah was busy fishing and simply replied that he would return in a couple of days."

The President—Holsteijn—went to meet the Prince and explained more thoroughly the state of affairs, at the same time begging him to express an opinion as to whether it was wise for "Sabandar Junius to remain in the district of Bima and Sumbawa in Macassar until the threatened trouble was over."

The Bugis prince was better acquainted with the tactics of our native allies than we were and remarked: "the Sumbawis are a people upon whom you cannot depend and it is their custom to fly to the hills if they are even slightly defeated in the villages on the coast; the crew of the "Macassar" would in case of danger have no place of refuge and I think you had better advise Sabandar Junius to come here; let the Resident of Bima make the necessary arrangements, but if it comes to a "rush" he can retreat to the hills with the Bimese and the Sumbawis."

Evidently Aroe Palakka had no notion of the dignity of the Honorable Company's representative!

"And as regards the destruction of "Salamparang" His Highness was unaware that this place was included in the alliance!"

It certainly had been omitted to include Salamparang in the Bonay treaty which embraced all the other small states that previously belonged to Macassar.

"If the Balinese go to Lombock as they threaten to do it is the duty of the allies to help her; but so far, there are only threats which may

not be put into execution and it would entail unnecessary expenditure upon all to send troops just at present."

That Rajah lived two centuries too soon! How he would have delighted the statesmen of the Mother country of to-day!

He further suggested "that the natives of Bima, Dompo and Tambora were sufficiently numerous to withstand the attack of the Balinese and that our Resident at Bima must urge them to assist Sumbawa; as those poor people are never provided with ammunition, he would send them some and also with our approval, he would send a representative of his own to look after things and encourage the Sumbawis!"

What a generous-minded prince!

We agreed to the proposals he made and Junius was recalled and six cases of powder and shot were despatched to the Resident of Bima.

The Balinese postponed the execution of their threat until the internal disturbances of Sumbawa were more general—thus waiting six years to carry out their plan. Piracy, disorder, jealousy, strife, all paved the way for the Macassar refugee, "Crain Pomelican," who invaded Sumbawa with a band of Balinese followers. "Crain Jerenika," another of Macassar's deposed kings, had reached Bima and was devastating the island from that side, in addition to which the whole of Sumbawa was being dismantled by the banished Rajah of Tambora.

Things were going from bad to worse!

The Rajahs of Goa and Boni were called upon to fulfil their part of the compact and to see that their Macassar subjects took no share in these expeditions.

"Crain Jerenika" paid no heed to the remonstrances and "Crain Pomelican" is in correspondence with the Rajah of Goa, who keeps him informed of all our plans.

The behaviour of the Rajah of Boni was becoming daily more arrogant. At this juncture the two chiefs "Crain Pomelican" and "Crain Jerenika" meet at Bima in order to concoct new embroilments for the Company. Pomelican had reduced the king of Sumbawa to such extremities, that in self-defence he threw himself into the arms of Jerenika.

On the 7th August 1700 the king of Bima writes to Governor General van Outhoorn: "that Jerenika having been accorded an entry into Sumbawa worthy of a king, subsequently put all the notables to death and plundered their houses. He then proceeded to Bima, where notwithstanding his friendly reception by the people, he destroyed the village of Tangy by fire; the Bimese dared not oppose him, as the country was small and the Company were far away. He then visited Allas, where he joined forces with Pomelican and erected a fortress. Accompanied by various princes and the king of Dompo he eventually returned to Bima; they arrived on foot and were accorded a reception by my people such as I have never witnessed." During their stay here they appropriated all the slaves of the princes and notables, they took 2000 horses and all the rice and paddy they could lay hands on and the inhabitants are in such a state of distress that they have fled eastwards.

A small expedition was fitted out at Macassar and set sail for Bima; meanwhile Pomelican had been driven from the island and died shortly after from fever; Jerenica fell into a trap laid for him by the Balinese, who invited him to attend a tournament during which he and several of his followers were put to death and fortunately for the Honorable Company our ally Rajak Palacca who had been growing more and more unmanageable died at this period. After the signal service rendered by Bali our friendship became closer, for the time being!

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For the next few years the Honorable Company's time is occupied in quelling disturbances at Boni and Goa and in warding off the attacks of the Macassar pirates. This is the period of the Javanese wars, happily terminated however with the favorable treaty concluded Nov. 11th 1743 with the Susuhunam, by which he conceded to us the land running from Cheribon on the N. East of Java to the strait of Bali.

In the interval the Balinese have made several attacks on Sumbawa and Salamparang, meeting with more success on the latter island.

We find their rule permanently established in Salamparang about 1740 and the authority is vested in that remarkable man Gusti Wayan Taga, connected by birth both to the royal dynasty of Bali and Lombock; Dr. Byvanck gives a graphic description of this prince in the November number of the "Gids" 1894:

"Wayan Taga was the precursor of the prince, who after reigning fifty years has become the enemy of the Netherlands government. He is characterized by the same firmness and suppleness in his clever, cunning, distrustful policy, taking advantage of and making the most of the circumstances in which he is placed; he uses alike friend and foe, Hindu, Mohammedan and Christian to maintain his independence. He had to deal with Balinese and Sassak, with Dutch and English, exactly as the king of Lombock of to-day; he manoeuvred amongst them all with so much cleverness and insight that his name is famous. The prince of the 18th century and the prince of to-day belong to the same category, they interpret each other, or rather, without some knowledge of the former, it would be well-nigh impossible to grasp the peculiarities of the contemporary History of Lombock."

As with the Rajah of to-day, our first contact with his ancestor was friendly. The Hon[ble] Company had displayed formidable strength, when their energetic admiral Smout had captured Goa from the usurper Kraeng Bontolancas (1739) and the following year Wayang Taga humbly applied to the Governor of Macassar for permission to trade with the Company and expressed a wish to be one of their dependents.

His request cannot have been serious, for when Smout suggested that the prince should send a suitable envoy with proper credentials, Gusti Wayan Taga replied by asking for "an extravagant amount of merchandise, without offering anything in payment". Consequently negociations were postponed and only resumed twenty years later.

During this interval a serious rival had appeared in our waters, and the Rajah prophesied that we should be driven away but the presence of the English only served as an impetus to our energy and our trade.

It was however fear of the English which once again brought us into immediate contact with the Balinese; on the West we defeated the Madurese and the Balinese then allies and we placed the island of Madura under our own government; on the East we had to protect the Sumbawese from renewed attacks of the Balinese and we had to keep watch over the Sassaks, who already in those days were cruelly treated by the Balinese.

The Rajah of Lombock was not altogether satisfied with our treatment; he would gladly have availed himself of our services to make himself independent of Bali, but he did not want only to change masters.

His conduct towards us at this period varies according to his fear or need of us in his far-reaching plans. He enters into friendly negociations with the English and has dealings with the Ceramese, whom the Hon^ble^ Company describe as "arrant knaves, bunglers and the scum of the earth!"

The Governor of Macassar despatched cruisers to the Lombock waters, with orders to arrest all persons unable to produce their passes; by way of retaliating for what he considered an infringement of his rights the Rajah had forts built at the entrance of all the Lombock harbours, all the natives are summoned and armed with long spears they guard the coast and the Company's representations are not even allowed to land. The Rajah refuses to hold any further communication with the Governor of Macassar and will only treat direct with Batavia.

Matters cannot possibly continue like this; they must either end in war or in a renewed alliance.

It would have been a well-chosen (1770) time for an attack in force: the severe rule of Gusti Wayan Taga and the exorbitant taxes he was enforcing were sources of widespread discontent amongst the native inhabitants who were growing daily more impatient of the intolerable yoke of the Balinese.

"When they were unable to pay the taxes their wives and children were sent to Gusti Nurah, King of Bali or to some other place, such as Bagang; or to a large mountain where people did nothing else all day long but dig up gold, which was sent in enormous quantities from Salamparang to Bali every year.

Their greatest grievance of all was: "that if a Balinese fell in love with the wife or daughter of a Sassak, he just planted his lance in front of the house inhabited by the woman, whereupon the Sassak was expected to go from home, while the Balinese took his pleasure undisturbed."

Is not this exactly the same complaint we read of in the letter from the Sassak chiefs in the beginning of this work? How many lamentations have been heard since then, what sorrow has been endured, what gross injustice has been done, how many generations have spent their lives in misery?

At the end of 1772 Lecerff is sent on a second mission, provided with two letters for the Rajah, the one containing compliments and greetings, the other containing proposals to the prince to sever himself entirely from Bali and to ally himself with us." The latter was only to be delivered if it could be done without the knowledge of the Balinese."

Lecerff was received with all due honours, but his mission was a failure, for he was unable to see the Prince alone and hand him the letter.

Van der Voort, Governor of Macassar now considered every chance of an alliance at an end.

It is impossible to say what reason prompted the action of the Rajah, who unexpectedly sent two letters to Lecerff in Sept. 1773, begging him to "come at once to Tandjong Karang."

His reception both by father and son—Gusti Madé Karang Asem—was most cordial; they talked a great deal of an alliance between Salamparang and the Hon$^{ble}$ Company.

"In that case we should feel quite safe. Who would be able to beat our combined forces, we on land and the Company at sea?"

What could be the meaning of Gusti Madé's invitation to Lecerff to return the following year and accompany him to Karang Asem in Bali? It seemed incomprehensible, as we wanted to get rid of the Balinese and were secretly trying to drive them away from Lombock.

No small wonder to find that Van der Woort was angry with Lecerff's useless visit to the Rajah to whom he wrote a very clear and explicit letter, asking for a definite reply and there was to be no more indecision. He placed before him the rough draft of a treaty (9 May 1774) whereby Salamparang and the Hon$^{ble}$ Company should enter into a defensive and offensive alliance; Sumbawa should be comprised in the league; all the Company's ships should be admitted to the island of Salamparang for trading purposes, but other nations, even the Ceramese should be excluded; the people of Lombock were in return to enjoy certain trading concessions.

Gusti Wayan Saga was far too astute to bind himself by any such treaty and replied "that he was not sole master of Salamparang and could not conclude treaties unknown to the king of Bali....!"

During all this time both the Rajah and his son keep continually reminding Lecerff of his promise to go to Bali and conclude a lasting contract with the king.

Another mission is prepared to go to Karang Assim provided with the articles for a treaty and presents for the king.

Before however the embassy has time to start, news reaches Macassar of the unexpected death of the king of Karang Assim followed shortly after by that of Gusti Wayan Saga (May and July 1775) Gusti Madé Karang Assim succeeds his father on the throne and decides to let his younger brother, Gusti Kattok govern part of Lombock and establishes him at Pagasangan.

Gusti Madé again begs of Lecerff to come over and accompany him

to Bali, to conclude a triple alliance between Salamparang, Bali and the Company.

When after various delays Lecerff does reach Lombock a new surprise is in store for him; as is so frequently the case amongst the native tribes, the younger brother, Gusti Kattok, with the assistance of his uncle Gusti Djilantik, had deposed his elder brother and seized the throne. It was rather startling to be informed by the new rajah "that as his father had followed his inclinations during his lifetime, he now intended to follow his!"

The days preceding the departure for Bali were very anxious ones for the envoys and they dared not accept Djilanlik's hospitality for fear of meeting with the same fate as "Crain Jerenika."

The Balinese seemed broadly speaking ready to accept the terms of the proposed treaty; that is to say they were willing to enter into friendly alliance with the Company, to trade with them and assist them in cases of shipwreck, but they refused to have a *written* agreement; "the people of Salamparang and Karang Assim consided a written contract as null and worthless!"

Although this mission was far from satisfactory, still it did a certain amount of good. Had the shrewd, intelligent Gusti Madé regained his influence at Bali?

"My brother, he said to Lecerff when he was leaving—I have taken much trouble for your sake to day. It is very easy to make a mistake, but very difficult to remedy one. Rest assured all will come right. You have obtained a few concessions to day and in time the Company shall have all they ask. Does it never happen in Europe that immediate consent is not always given when some one asks for a man's daughter in marriage? And even if consent is given the marriage does not take place at once. Things require time and patience; listen therefore, my brother: in the month of February I shall send three ships to Macassar....."

And sure enough the following year—20 June 1776— three vessels came from the three princes of Salamparang and Karang Assim, bringing with them a letter in which they stated, "that they would never go back from their word and they wished day and night that the lands of the Honorable Company and theirs might be made one and all the people happily placed under one rule."

Besides this they accepted all the terms of the treaty, but nothing would induce the Balinese to agree to a *written* contract.

Governor Van der Woort received the embassy with suspicion owing to the inexplicable attitude of Gusti Madé and the Balinese claims on Sumbawa and last but not least on account of the long list of goods which the Balinese were desirous of buying in Macassar on credit.

However he sent presents and letters back to the princes, but for the rest he referred them to the Governor-General; the embassy refused to listen to this proposal, so that as far as we were concerned no further steps were taken, although the Balinese considered the contract binding;

unfortunately it was more in word than in deed that they were the Company's allies in these difficult times.

Gusti Madé's behaviour continued more enigmatic then ever.

Lecerff about this period informed van der Voort that Gusti Madé still intended to separate from the Balinese, but owing to his want of confidence in his (Madé's) Malay secretary he could not enter into details in a letter. He was anxious to enter into a separate alliance with the Company on the same terms as the other princes of the Bonay treaty and was willing to grant them a slice of territory in Lombock.

On the 28th September 1778 Lecerff writes to Van der Voort saying that the island of Salamparang is divided into two factions: Gusti Madé at the head of the Sassaks, and Gusti Kattok at the head of the Balinese. The Sassaks assert that they are treated worse than slaves and that if only the Company would come to their rescue they are willing to yield them half the island. Further that if the Company really intended to help them, both Gusti Madé and several Sassak chiefs had said it would only be necessary for the Company to attack the Balinese at sea and prevent reinforcements from landing, as there were one hundred Sassaks to every Balinese on the island. Gusti Madé begged of Lecerff to come to Tello Dalem to discuss all the needful preparations verbally.

If only Van der Voort had taken decisive measures this time.

In reply to this information he told Lecerff that he must find some pretext for not going to Tello Damo. It was a matter of indifference to the Company whether Salamparang were divided or not; for them to reap any benefit from occupying a part of the island would entail building a fort, for which they were not prepared.

These were dark times for the Company!

Their influence at Celebes was being undermined by all sorts of intrigues. In the same year that the Balinese embassy had visited Macassar, a sea-pirate named Sankilang personated the rajah who had been exiled to Ceylon and placed himself at the head of a rebellion. The vindictive grandmother of Aroe Palakka, whose great ambition was to steep her hands once more in European blood, acknowledged the adventurer as her grandson. His followers increased rapidly; the company's ports were destroyed; even Goa fell into his hands.... the Netherlands flag flew nowhere but over the citadel of Macassar!

Van der Voort succeeded however with the assistance of Madurese auxiliaries in recapturing Goa and in driving Sankilang to the interior, where he managed to defend himself for twelve years.

Scarcely had the atmosphere of Macassar grown a little less gloomy before the long-threatened storm burst forth in another quarter. The war of 1781—1783 with England so disastrous in every way betrayed to the natives princes the internal weakness of the once so mighty colonial knigdom.

In those days of trial Karangassim in Bali remained faithful to us and the prince writes to C. Meurs, Lecerff's successor: "Had I wings, I would fly to your help!" but he was engaged in warfare at home with Dewa Mangis. He was also deeply offended with the Salamparang

princes, who had permitted English ships to approach their shores.

The behaviour of these princes was very trying; thus they wrote to the Governor in 1784:

"If your Excellency wishes to end our friendship, we shall be sorry; but there are other white nations in the world, who would be very pleased to be our allies....."

Later on dr. C. Meurs asked Reyke, Van der Voort's successor: "What is to be done with these capricious princes?" He had sent them a letter from the Governor of Macassar, which they refused to receive, as "it did not come straight from the Governor."

In October 1783 Siberg, Governor of East Java wrote to Reyke: "What is the use of Bali and Salamparang to the Company? The products of these islands are to be found also in other lands belonging to the Company. The princes are not to be trusted; it is best to let them fight out their differences amongst themselves. They will treat the English as they have treated us and only remain true to the alliance as long as there is any benefit to be derived from it."

Reyke quite agreed with Siberg and they left the two islands to settle their own affairs; they kept their eye on Karangassim and used threats when matters appeared to be reaching a crisis..... but otherwise, they only continued to negociate.

On the 9th May 1788 we learn that the Balinese of Karangassim were armed along the coast and would not allow the representatives of the Company to go on shore.

Nogociations still continued and led, strange to say, to unexpected results.

Was it the prospect of the numerous advantages to be gained from trading with the extensive possessions of the Company; was it the need of support in their internal wars that prompted the princes of Salamparang and Karangassim to seek for a closer union with the company and caused them to overlook all the previous obstacles. Or was it the brilliant success which we had achieved at Bima in defeating a Bugis, who had also impersonated the banished Rajah?

A few months after the subjection of the pseudo rajah of Goa, two vessels were sent to Batavia with envoys from the princes; they were the bearers of a friendly letter to the Governor General, who in return sent many affectionate messages to the Balinese rulers.

Notwithstanding this renewal of friendship and the treaty, the time was drawing near for the fulfilment of the Rajah of Lombock's prophecy, "that we should soon be driven away!" The clouds were drawing around us and the English attacked us not only here, but they even bombarded Batavia, destroying Onrust and interrupting our communication with the mother-country.

The last years of the century witnessed the decline of the East India Company, the administration of which is taken over by the State to be overthrown again six years later.

With the advance of time the Balinese princes, instead of displaying any desire for union with the Company, grow utterly indifferent or

worse; they declared they had always known we were not permanently established and that there was nothing to guarantee our not failing again.

H. A. van d. Broek, who was sent in 1817 to Bali to renew the interrupted relations met with very scanty success; one state repeatedly postponed the date for his reception; a second, having promised to sign an agreement withheld consent at the last moment; a third stipulated for a conditional contract to last "only as long as we were masters of Java";—this was a sufficient indication of the existing feeling—and the state of Bouleleng, the most powerful of all, showed a decided disinclination to have any dealings with us whatever. "It appears to me, writes v. d. Broek 5 January, 1818, that the prince of Bouléleng is very friendly with the English, especially with Raffles....."

In spite of the various changes wrought during the last twenty years our fear of the English was unallayed; but instead of paralysing our efforts it urged us to surmount our natural indolence and to enter the struggle manfully as we did in the previous century! Thus stimulated by the presence of a powerful rival we adhered to our original plans of friendly intercourse with the native princes which led to the famous treaty of Huskus Koopman, so ably commented upon by Dr. Byvanck in the April number of the Gids 1895.

The Lombock princes held exclusive authority in their own island and thanks to their fidelity and friendship to our government they had obtained possession of Karangassim. Feeling themselves firmly established, no stone was left unturned to prevent the Netherlands government from interfering in their affairs; circumstances favored them for many years, as we were engaged in the Atchin war.... besides, the post at Buitenzorg was not occupied by a Merkus!

The Rajah, Ratoe Agong Ketoet Ngoerah Karang Asem, was now able to devote his exclusive attention to the internal government of the country, *i.e.*, he was better able to tyrannize over the unfortunate Sassaks.

In 1855 three Hadjis were brutally put to death because, so it was said, they had incited the people to rebel; and a rumour was current that a similar fate awaited all the Mohammedan priests. At this announcement Praja and the other Sassak districts rose in a body, but were wofully beaten by the more experienced and better disciplined Balinese. Hundreds of Sassaks lost their lives; all were made to surrender their arms, even the chiefs: Balinese officials were appointed to enforce the order, and the people were forbidden to visit the mosques, etc. Justice compels us to add that this outburst of brutality was succeeded by a period of comparative peace and more humane treatment towards the Sassaks, who were once again permitted to share similar privileges to the Hindus; the building of mosques was encouraged and the pilgrims to Mecca were no longer molested; for the time being the Rajah might be described as a model of toleration. The improvement was due to the presence of Ma Radja at the palace who had obtained such a beneficial influence over her husband; her assistant and chief adviser was the Arab, Saïd Abdullah. At this time the Rajah was

staunchly supporting the Arabian merchants, not only owing to their influence over his Mohammedan subjects, but because they were necessary to him in his foreign trade.

The jealousy and hatred of the Balinese party, especially that of the poenggawas, increased in proportion as they said they were losing their former hold over the Sassaks and they formed a conspiracy to put an end to the new state of affairs. The heir-presumptive to the throne and the notorious Anak Agong Madé took the same view of the case and as the latter's influence over the Rajah was gaining ground every day, the period of humane administration drew to a close and was soon succeeded by the most harsh, oppressive and barbarous measures.

At last in 1891 the independent states of Bali rose and Anak Agong Madé forced the Sassak auxiliaries to cross over to Karangassim to help the king, then fighting against Mengwi .... This last act of oppression having ultimately led to our intervention, we must review the exact conditions existing in Bali.

We had scarcely taken any advantage of the articles laid down after the first and third expeditions to Bali; we no longer insisted upon the princes' taking an oath of allegiance to our Indian government; nor that the choice of a successor should be subject to our approval; neither were we to receive any war indemnity; and we had not even built fortresses, as we were entitled to do .... We had contented ourselves with having our souvereignty acknowledged,—(this was to keep the English away) with the promise that the export and import slave trade should be discontinued and the right of jetsom done away with. "To ensure a permanent state of affairs" we had thought it advisable to strengthen the powers of our allies and with this object in view we had conceded Karangassim to Lombock, while Boelèleng was handed over to the prince of Bangli and Djembrana was restored to independence. The results of our arrangements were far from satisfactory and to put an end to the continual disorders we were forced to place both Djembrana and Boulèleng under our immediate control, since which time they have improved in every way, forming striking contrasts to all the other independent state,

The colonial report gives a very correct account of the progress made since then, which briefly put is as follows:

In those states under our direct rule slavery is abolished; small-pox epidemics are less frequent; order and peace prevail; prosperity increased in proportion as crime decreased; and there is a larger trade done both in import and export articles.

In the independent states generally, the princes are unacquainted with the art of governing and give themselves up unreservedly to women, gambling and opium; the people suffer from poverty and slavery and are harassed by sickness, intrigues, fighting, war and anarchy; when they can, they seek refuge in our territories.

In 1885 Giangar united itself to Klonkong, but soon regretted the union; part of the state was then incorporated with Bangei, which arrange-

ment roused the jealousy of Karangassim and the Rajah of Lombock, who desired a portion of the land.

In 1891 Menguri tried to possess himself by force of one portion of Grangar and called Karangassim to his assistance in this attempt. Gusti Gedé Djilantik and Gusti Gedé Poetoe were ready to comply with his demand at once and ask for further auxiliary troops from Lombock, whence 500 Sassaks were despatched without delay.

The Dewa of Klonkong refused them a passage through his territory and they were heavily repulsed in their endeavours to force a way through; in addition to severe losses in this first struggle the Sassaks were decimated by lack of proper care and insufficient food.

New reinforcements were demanded from Lombock, but the people were more than tired of Madé's oppressions and a spirit of rebellion was rife amongst them; all knew what was in store for the Mohammedans and Hadjis after the termination of the war in Bali and they accordingly refused to obey the summons to fight their master's battles, and Praja gave the first signal for an armed insurrection.

It might have been possible to put down the rebellion at the outset, but Madé's inhuman conduct caused it to spread from one end of the island to the other. The Balinese element was again supreme in the palace of Mataram and Said Abdullah felt the ground sinking beneath his feet; he entered into secret correspondence with the Sassaks urging them to maintain their attitude—but his letters were intercepted and both he and his two sons were krissed!

The Sassaks succeeded in forcing their way as far as Kediri, whereupon the Rajah summoned his vassals of Karangassim to his assistance. Gusti Djilantik crossed over from Bali on Nov. 29th 1891 with an army of 1500 men and was shortly afterwards followed by others. Madé now laid the whole country to waste with fire and sword; three hundred Sassaks were transported to an uninhabited island—Trawangang—that they might be starved to death.

Our government was left in the dark concerning this rebellion; but two years later, after a good deal of hesitation the wretched Sassaks were to be delivered from their oppressors; an end was to be put to plunder and murder and to the reign of fierce Macassars, booty-seeking Sumbawis and proud and cruel Balinese; the day was about to dawn when this down-trodden people should enjoy their possessions in peace and reap unmolested the harvest of their beautiful country!

All our efforts to restore peace in Bali were ineffectual; Gusti Gedé Poetoe, absolutely refused to surrender a portion of Giangar to Klonkong, the people having of their own free will placed themselves under Karangassim.

The important events about to take place in Lombock forced us to leave Bali to her own devices for a time; but we hope the time is not far distant when the much needed reforms will be carried out in the island!

## V.

## THE LANDING AND OTHER INCIDENTS AT LOMBOCK UP TO 25th—26th AUGUST.

It is night! The restless Ocean waves beat against the shores of Lombock as they have done for centuries past and will continue to do for centuries to come; what tales do they not unfold to us and what will they not repeat to those who follow us? Dark black shadows stretch out in long lines above the silvery gray waters; and stars innumerable adorn the giant masts with their gorgeous midnight rays.

As an eagle with outspread wings so have the Company's ships come from the West and swooped down upon Salamparang, the seat of proud resistance, of cruel oppression, injustice and tyranny! A great and powerful fleet rides at anchor in the bay of Ampenam.

What reflections can this imposing sight have engendered in the soul of that unworthy offspring of princes, that scourge of his country, Anak Agong Madé?

On that night of 5th—6th July he must have known that the day of reckoning was at hand and that *his* reign was about to close!

As dawn pierces through the shades of night, the threatening image of the black ships vanishes as a shadow in the grey mist; high up in the heavens appears a rich red glow spreading itself little by little, while the waters reflect the lovely tints and the vessels are soon enveloped in soft and delicate hues. Suddenly the sun rises above Lombock's mountains and the whole scene is lighted up with golden rays; the sea is a field of silver glistening with golden streaks and wavelets of gold dash against the shore.

What a buzz of voices and what unusual sounds mingle with the monotonous roar of the surf! There is the rattle of the gear, the whistle of the long-boats and the splashing of oars in the water; and then there are the jolly-boats closely packed with men all making for the shore..... the Netherlands troops are landing at Ampenam!

Early in the morning of 5th July the transport fleet entered the roadstead of Ampenam (the *Maetsuijcker*, *G. G.'s Jacob*, *Graaf v. Bylandt*, *Prins Alexander*, *Amboina*, *Both*, *Reael*, *Coen*, *Japara*, *Generaal Pel* and *Medan*).

Here it joined the naval force appointed for the campaign and assembled here since 30th June under command of Captain Quispal of the Navy; it was composed of the frigates "*Koningin Emma der Nederlanden*" and "*Tromp*", the ironclad "*Prins Hendrik der Nederlanden*" all of the auxiliary squadron; the "*Sumatra*" and the "*Borneo*" of the Indian Military Marine and the two despatch boats, numbers 95 and 101, besides the opium cruisers "*Argus*" and "*Cycloop*" for courier and escort service.

The ultimatum had been despatched to the Lombock princes; the time for acceptance expiring at sunrise on the 6th.

Telegraphic messages from H. M. the Queen and H. M. the Queen-Regent were read aloud to the troops on board and were greeted with

"Landing at Ampenam".

loud cheers, followed by gay music from the regimental bands; all were eagerly looking forward to the morrow and were anxious to begin the real life of soldiers in action.

Very early, at 4 a. m., next day an embassy from the princes, consisting of three Balinese chiefs, came on board the "*Maetsuijker*".

"The prescribed time of 24 hours for the acceptance of the ultimatum was too short; in three days, time the prince would come to Mataram to discuss with the Resident....."

Every thing was ready and an immediate landing was decided upon. The men-of-war were ranged in line about 400 mètres from the shore the heavy cannon were directed towards various points of the coast; the

quick-firing guns were prepared to overwhelm the enemy with projectiles if occasion arose. About fifteen armed marine boats were in position between the men-of-war and the shore to protect the disembarcation of the troops. They showed a wide front; between every two sloops of the marine there was one sloop belonging to the Steam Navigation Company, each one of these having 4 boats of the transport fleet in tow. The first contingent to land under General van Ham consists of the 9th battalion, 2 companies of the 7th, two sections of mountain artillery, the engineers and two ambulances.

The men fell in line on deck, the boats were lowered, and parties of thirty men descended into each boat, provided with arms and stores.

At 6,30 a. m. the signal "forward" was given and they pushed forward towards the shore. This of course was the most critical moment, the men were closely crowded together in the boats and defenceless against an enemy who might have sought to prevent their landing; but fortunately not a single shot was fired at them and twenty minutes after quitting the men-of-war the infantry and the engineers landed.

The Lombock flag of which mentiou has been made, was still flying defiantly; but without one moment's hesitation General Van Ham hurried in advance of his soldiers to the foot of the flag-staff and amidst a deafening hurrah, the General's aide-de-camp, captain Wiersma, lowers the colours which are never to be hoisted again! The red, white and blue flag of the Netherlands replaced them for ever.

Without encountering any difficulties the disembarcation was continued; assistance was even given in drawing the boats higher up on the beach by the Sassaks, Bugis and Malays assembled there. By 7,30 a. m. two other companies of the 7th and 6th battalions were landed, and the disembarcation of the cavalry was commenced. By the afternoon all the troops and coolies were on shore and steady progress was made in landing supplies and war material. Position was immediately taken up on the North, South and East of Ampenam and at about 3 p. m. scouting parties were sent out in three different directions. One company marched nearly as far as Rembega; a second followed the road from Ampenam to Mataram, coming within 800 mètres of it, whilst a third covered about 1500 mètres along the road to Tandjong Karang.

The reports of the roads and surrounding districts were good; the enemy was invisible; the people in the kampongs seemed quiet enough and there were no signs of anything unusual about the place; wherever the troops showed themselves the natives squatted down on the ground and the Chinese contiuned to walk about unconcerned beneath the shade of their paper "pajongs" (umbrellas).

Is it to this external attitude of peace and order that we are to ascribe the choice of Ampenam as a bivouac? is this the reason why no fortifications were built? does herein lie the cause for no clearings being made where the view was obstructed or the line of fire impeded?

Surely, the situation cannot have altered so materially since the last

few hours, when uncertainty existed as to what difficulties might have to be faced on landing, as to make it conceivable that no attack was to be feared. The inhabitants of Ampenam and the surrounding kampongs might possibly he well-disposed although we have many instances in the history of Indian wars, where an apparently well-intentioned people have been suddenly transformed into our bitterest foe. Was it not possible that the cunning Balinese might permit us to land unmolested and then attack us unexpectedly? Our enemies were not yet conquered and it was natural to foresee that Anak Agong Madé would make some desperate attempt to escape the fate in store for him. The Commander-in-chief proved that he was prepared for such like emergencies by the precautions he took when he marched towards Mataram on 11th July.

In our opinion it would have been wiser to have fortiful the strand bivouac, to ensure perfect safety for the troops stationed there and to form a secure basis for the advancing columns. Had this been done the men would have enjoyed more undisturbed rest during the first few nights; the subsequent panic would have been prevented; and there would have been more available help at hand to relieve the attacked divisions.*

The number of vacant houses and homesteads at Ampenam provided ample accomodation, and the men speedily set to work cleaning them and preparing them; but nothing was done to clear away the high walls, which made it so difficult to lead the troops and see any distance ahead. Meanwhile a rumour was current that Anak Agong Madé intended to attack the bivouac during the night with 500 of his adherents, as he preferred to die fighting rather than surrender.

Suddenly at three in the morning the "alarm" was sounded! Fire had broken out in the Chinese camp and the bamboo houses crackled as if hundreds of guns were being let off and the sky was ablaze with the sparks. It is horrible to think what might have been the results of this out-break amidst the densely packed crowd of men, horses, ammunition and stores, with the enemy probably lurking in the distance, to take advantage of the confusion to strike the first blow!

An hour of intense anxiety was spent in trying to extinguish the flames and by day-break all was quiet again; two Balinese who were suspected of this act of treachery were arrested.

A Balinese embassy had spent the night in the bivouac, having arrived during the afternoon with a message from the prince to the commander-in-chief, informing him that the arrival of the troops on shore was creating much consternation amongst the people and therefore

* To those who feel inclined to argue that it is easy to put forth these reasons after the events have occurred or who may conclude that no one foresaw the danger at the time, we wish to point ont that our contention is not that we should have acted more prudently if similarly situated, but that criticism of a mistake may prevent its recurrence in future; regarding the second remark we know positively, that some of the officers were thoroughly aware of the dangerous position of the bivouac before the attack took place, as they mentioned the fact in their private correspondence, although of course unwilling to comment upon it publicly.

he begged of them to return on board, where further negotiations could be carried on.

The time for negotiating had elapsed and the envoys were forced to depart on the morning of the 7th with the following reply:

"In future only the Prince himself would be received by the Commander-in-chief, letters from him would have to be delivered to the outposts; and in the evening or at night time not even the prince himself would be allowed in the bivouac."

The remainder of the day was occupied in landing the horses, artillery ammunition and commissariat stores; it required almost superhuman efforts to keep the heavily-laden boats steady and bring them safely to the beach through the heavy surf and hundreds were kept busy in conveying the chests and bales from the strand to the store-houses.

"Unloading supplies."

In the uncertainty as to future emergencies the Commander-in-chief decided not to advance without having a sufficient supply of stores at Ampenam; they were to take with them provisions enough to last for a few days consecutive operations and as this involved the coolies following the columns, only a few could be left behind at Ampenam and every thing must be done before they started. This was an excellent arrangement and proves conclusively that the Commander-in-chief was prepared for resistance.

In the course of the day information was brought in that Madé was planning an attack for that night, so at dusk all the troops were ordered

back into the bivouac.... was not this a mistake? Had an attack really occurred, a terrible catastrophe might have ensued.

At 6a.m. on the 8th July a large reconnoitring force set out under Major van Bijlevelt, with controller Liefrinck, the 6th Battalion, the cavalry and one section of mountain artillery and the ambulance; they followed the route from Ampenam—Tandjong Karang-Sekarbela— to Pasinggakan. At his own request General van Ham accompanied this column.

This was the occasion on which the remarkable meeting took place between Gusti Gedé Djilantik (prince of Karangassim in Bali) and the Commander-in-chief and which decided the fate of the campaign; the former declaring that it was accidental on his part. He informed General Van Ham that he was on his way to apologize to the Resident for the neglect of the government of Karangassim in not having acknowledged our notification concerning the Expedition. We can hardly credit the accuracy of the prince's statement; it is more than probable that he gauged the results of the expediton and he wanted to separate himself from the Balinese party while there was yet time; he wanted to enter into private arrangements for his own ultimate good!

And who can feel sure of the chances of war? In former years Salamparang had been subject to the kings of Bali until the Company had inverted the order of things and who could tell what the Company might not do so again? The present occupier of the throne of Salamparang was a worn out old man and his successor half an idiot—or at least he made them out such! Would he not be a more suitable ruler, himself? would he not be a safer guarantee for the maintenance of order and discipline?

If he could only succeed in this.... well, "then the Company were welcome to Karangassim as a present; it was really a poor country, rich only in stones...." (These are Djilantik's own words).

"He saw the time was not far distant when his country and the other independent states in Bali, would be united under the Company, just as Boelèleng and Djembrana, where so much progress had been made."

We cannot fail to recognize in this sly and clever Balinese a true descendant of Gusti Wayan Saga!

The meeting was most cordial, for we too appreciated the advantages to be derived from a private interview and hoped through the intervention of Djilantik to achieve our object peaceably and to surmount the opposition of the Salamparang princes. The Commander-in-chief's charm of manner and frankness quite captivated Gusti Dijlantik, who promised to come and pay him his respects very soon; true to his word the prince arrived the following morning (9 July) at half past ten. He assured the General of his fidelity to the Government and declared his wish to separate himself from the Salamparang princes and to return to his own country, unless the Commander-in-chief might wish to dispose of him and his 1200 men. It was decided that he himself should stay, but that a government steamer should convey his troops back to Bali;

this latter part of the programme was however altered and it was settled that the men should stay too until the island was definitely reduced to order.

After his visit to the Commander-in-chief Gusti Djilantik went straight to the old Rajah and to Madé at Tjakra Nagara, relating all that had passed and laying great stress on our power. "Resistance is impossible and you may as well comply at once with the demands set forth!"

The following morning, 10th July, the General received a letter from the old Rajah, in which he accepted all the terms of the ultimatum, but raised obstacles regarding the surrender of Madé, which would cause all his followers to rise against him (the Rajah), and suggesting that when quiet had been restored to the country enquiries should be made into his conduct. The Commander-in-chief replied that if Madé were not surrendered the troops would advance the next day,—if the Rajah were really afraid of Madé's men, let him place himself under the protection of the Commander-in-chief who would defend him against them.

Early on the morning of the 11th July the whole army advanced, while a naval brigade occupied Ampenan. Two battalions with eight guns were in the first line, one battalion with the cavalry in reserve. This curious disposition of the cavalry was made, owing to the road and surrounding country being quite open and Mataram, the object of the advance, being visible to the whole column; besides an attack in the open field was not probable.

Two 12 c. M. A. siege-guns also accompained the column which could come into action on the high road if occasion arose; the wide easy road offered no difficulty for the heavy pieces drawn by 40 coolies.

The forward march had hardly begun when a letter was handed to the Commander-in-chief stating that the princes accepted the final proposal, but that they would themselves exile Madé to Tjoelik or Tjanjar in Bali, but that if he showed himself unwilling to go, the only alternative would be "to kris himself." The bearers of the letter further informed the Commander-in-chief in the name of the princes, that since the letter had been written, Madé had krissed himself and they implored of him not to advance any further, but to despatch a commission to identify the dead body. The order to "halt" was immediately given, and controller Liefrink, with two Boulèleng punggawas attached to our cause and who had known Madé personally, were sent forward to verify this astounding statement. On their arrival at the poeri at Tjakra Nagara, they were not admitted at once, but after a quarter of an hour had elapsed Liefrinck sent for Djilantik with the request that the commission might be admitted to identify the corpse. Djilantik vanished and remained absent some little time and at last Liefrinck was obliged to send another message saying they could wait no longer, but would return and make their report to the Commander-in-chief. Djilantik placed his hand on his kris and begged of them to wait one moment longer.....

He left them again, but returned in a couple of minutes, in order to

accompany the commission to view the corpse.... and when they entered, they were still in time to see Madé breathing his last gasp!...

High Road from Ampenan to Mataram on 11th July.

Shall we ever know the truth about this prince's death? Had he taken his own life? or had he been put do death by the prince's orders to

expiate an offence he had committed with his own sister's daughter? Strange that such a charge should be brought by him against this man whom he was seeking to protect, yet we know it was a usual way of getting rid of people. Nobody but Djilantik knows the real fact of the case.

When the controller returned to the column his report was: "when the news of Madé's death was brought to us, it was not true, but it is true now!"

All then changed as if by magic; the order to advance was no longer a war cry and the troops marched forward in a friendly country. They proceeded to Tjakra Nagara accompanied by gay music and there they were welcomed by Gusti Djilantik; who can say what thoughts filled his mind, as leaning heavily against a tree. he watched the troops march past to the sounds of a full band? why did he inspect them with such piercing eyes?

And did not the heart of many a thoughtful soldier beat faster as he marched between those high walls? Did it not occur to each one how great would have been the number of victims, had it not been for this fortunate solution of the problem?

Just then a sort of big fair was being held at Mataram and was visited by thousands of women; no one showed any signs of fear and we are justified in assuming that at that time there certainly was no thought of hostilities.

Halt was made at the cross roads in front of the poeri.... the corpse of Madé and that of one of his concubines were at that moment being brought into the court yard of the poeri; later in the afternoon the former was carried to Ampenam by a few of his followers and cast into the sea. Greater outrage could not have been committed on the body of a Balinese, for this last indignity placed him on the level of a criminal and robbed him of all chance of ever reaching heaven; yet it was perpetrated by the express command of the old Rajah, who informed the Commander-in-chief that a man who had wrought so much harm to his country was unworthy of honorable burial.

We look upon this prince as somewhat of a hypocrite—the atrocities were committed with his knowledge and sanction and he himself was responsible for all the calamities existing in the island, but now that he saw his throne threatened by the Company's soldiers, one of his first acts was to disown his best beloved friend!

Sic transit gloria!

Standing in front of the poeri, the Commander-in-chief decided upon the following disposition of the troops:

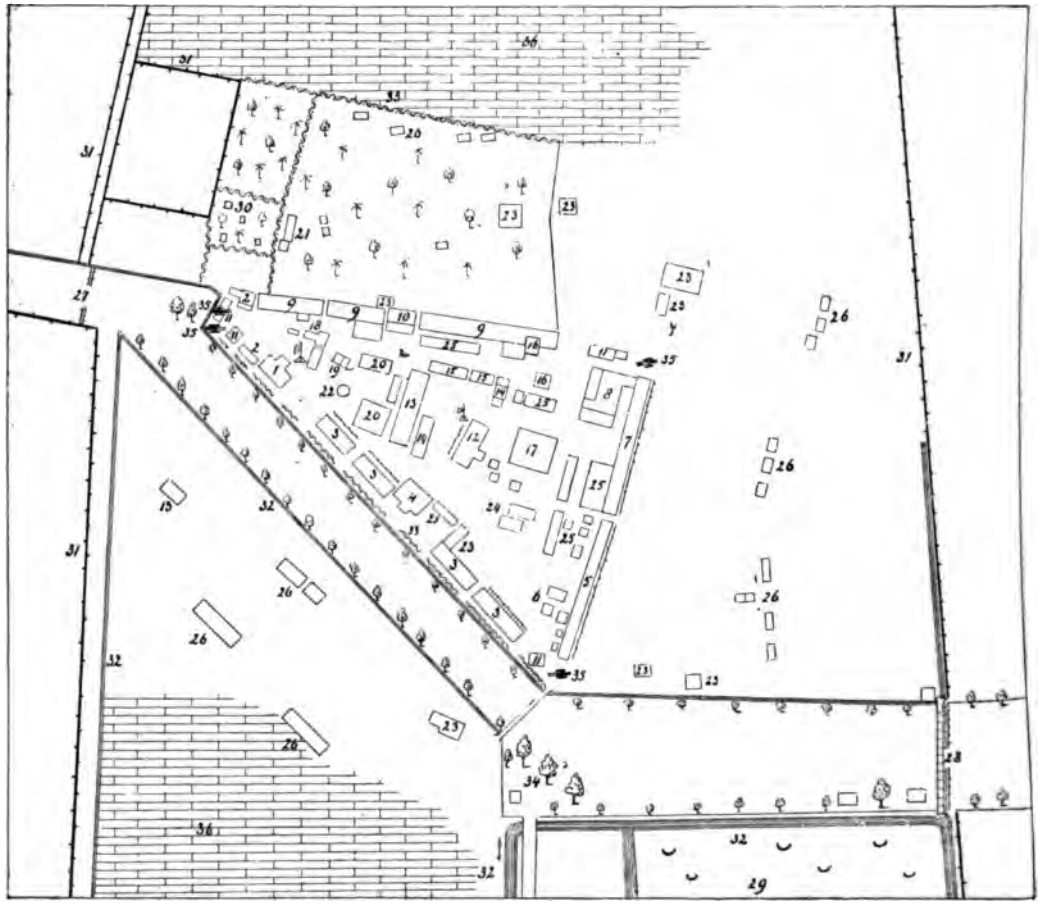
The 6th battalion with the ammunition train, the ambulance and the two sections of mountain artillery were to remain at Tjakra Nagara; the 7th battalion with its ammunition train, the ambulance and the two sections of field artillery to bivouac in the Sawah between Mataram and Tjakra Nagara. The 9th battalion to return to Ampenam with the cavalry; and the naval brigade to re-embark.

Captain Wiersma, aide-de-camp to the Second-in-command, was

entrusted by General Vetter with the selection of a suitable spot for the 6th battalion to bivouac and Lieutenant Kotting, adjutant to the Commander-in-chief was to assist Major van Blommenstein in establishing the sawah-bivouac for the 7th battalion.

The question arises why these duties were not performed by the officers of the general staff to whose sphere they belonged?

Captain Wiersma followed the high road for about 1200 mètres, to a point where it takes a southerly bend for 200 mètres, then continues straight east—this is the turning where afterwards van Lawick's column fell into an ambush. Unacquainted with the actual extent of Tjakra Nagara, Captain Wiersma thought he would never reach the end of that



Plan of bivouac of the 7th battalion. Scale 1:2700.

1. Chief of bivouac.
2. Small staff.
3. Barracks 1st compagny.
4. Officers » »
5. Quarters 2nd »
6. Officers » »
7. Quarters 3nd »
8. Officers » »
9. Barracks 4th »
10. Officers 4th company.
11. Half section of artillery.
12. Artillery officers.
13. Staf »
14. Barracks »
15. Stores of reserve ammunition.
16. Forge.
17. Provisions (food supply).
18. Quatermaster.
19. Doctor.
20. Ambulance.
21. Topographical office.
22. Pavilion.
23. Kitchen.
24. Police.
25. Convicts' quarters.
26. Latrines.
27. Mataram Gate.
28. Tjakra Nagara Gate.
29. Balinese burial-ground.
30. Kampong Bali.
31. Low wall.
32. Moat.
33. Earthwork with bushes.
34. Bazaar.
35. Cannon.
36. Rice field.

interminable road running between high walls, so he returned and made his report to the Commander-in-chief, who thereupon selected for the bivouac a piece of land lying back South of the poeri.

This tract consisted—see sketch—of an open space lying mostly in Westerly direction which was skirted by ground raised 1 mètre higher and which was surrounded by a wall breast-high; adjoining this were two open spaces, the actual Dewa temple, encircled by very high (4 mètres) walls, but these spaces were not included in the bivouac; all these open places were 40 mètres square on an average. The 1st, 2nd and 4th Companies were lodged within the low walls; the others, as also the horses and mules in the open space on the north. The convicts, kitchens and other conveniences were on the opposite side in sheds against the high wall of the poeri garden.

Although the commandant was not quite satisfied with the disposition of the bivouac of the 7th battalion, there was no more suitable spot. As is shown in the sketch it forms a triangle, one side is parallel with the main road from Mataram to Tjakra Nagara, on the north side is a sparsely planted cocoa-nut-tree plantation and the east side faces a large stretch of rice fields.

The 9th battalion was stationed at the bivouac on the strand at Ampenam.

Gusti Djilantik placed his own poeri at the disposal of the Commander-in-chief and his staff; it was situated in the North West angle of the cross roads at Tjakra Nagara and separated from the old Rajah's by the road to Lingsar. The residence consisted of four divisions, adjoining one another and behind it was a large garden containing a pond. Djilantik retired to a small house in the neighbourhood, "that he might be at hand if required;" he gave every assistance he could in preparing the site for the bivouac and thanks to his intervention large supplies of bamboo, padi, straw, etc., were brought in by the inhabitants who only accepted very trifling payment..

This leads to the very important and intricate question of the *choice* of these bivouacs, a choice which exercised such a fatal influence on subsequent events and which has been so severely censured on the one hand and so stoutly defended on the other.

In forming an opinion we must bear in mind that the acceptance of the ultimatum, the death of Madé and the occupation of Mataram and Tjakra without a single blow led one to understand that the trouble was over and circumstances had altered since the bivouac at Ampenam had been planned and there was now no anticipation of an assault. We consider that the main object of the Commander-in-chief in locating his troops *in* and *near* Tjakra Nagara instead of in safer quarters at Ampenam has been entirely overlooked; true, the distance from one place to the other was not great, but it might not have proved so easy to re-enter the gates a second time, as was found out by later experience and not much time would be needed to place Tjakra in a thorough state of defence had the Balinese been so minded at the time.

Not merely from a military but from a political point of view, it was essential at this stage of affairs for the Commander-in-chief to remain as near the centre of Lombock as possible until the actual object of the expedition was achieved. Mataram and Tjakra Nagara were the points where it was possible to keep in touch with prince and people; these strongholds once in our power, it was clearly our duty to occupy them. Unfortunately the disposition of the troops was such, that they are completely at the mercy of the people they have come to subjugate. "A good tactical commanding site was lacking at Mataram and at Tjakra Nagara;" while admitting that this statement may be correct, we are at a loss to understand why at least "a safe site" was not selected, instead of one exposed to an attack from the people on whom we were going to impose conditions.

A "safe" position can generally be secured by encamping on the border of a kampong which affords a good open space in front while the troops are screened and the sides of the kampong can easily be strengthened by earthworks, etc.

In this instance the bivouacs might have been established in some of the homesteads surrounded by high walls and after a little clearance, the site would have been safe from the enemy's fire and attacks.

We entirely disagree with those who contend that this latter course would have embittered the people against us and would consequently have been opposed to the "Instructions" of the Commander-in-chief, or that we had no "right,' to follow such a line of action! What about European methods in Europe? Did Germany hesitate to adopt a similar course in France? No voice has ever been raised in opposition to such tactics, without which occupation would be impossible. And we do not think that such a proceeding would either have astonished or embittered the natives who were accustomed to see the princes and notables appropriate what they required; besides, with our superior notions of justice, it would have been very simple to compensate the people for turning them out of their houses, and many would have been grateful to receive a few shining rijksdollars in exchange for their little bamboo houses.

Still from a *political* standpoint the selection of a site on the borders would have been less advantageous, though owing to the extent of Tjakra there could be so little question of influence and contact that the troops with the Commander-in-chief might just as well have remained at Ampenam.

There was still one course left open: to take up a position *inside* the poeri or *in front* of it. Some may think it would have been an unwise choice in view of the labyrinth of dwellings, passages, walls, etc., which would have rendered supervision of the men almost impossible—to this we reply that there were many open spaces and sites in the eastern portion and an abundant supply of water.

This selection might have "embittered the prince!" Possibly. But even such a contingency would not have weighed with the Commander-

in-chief, had he considered the locality suitable for his purpose. We are convinced that such a proceeding at that time would have had no baneful results whatever; the prince was far too much in awe of us and only wanted to be left in peace; besides, had he not through Djilantik placed all his palaces and their contents at our disposal, as well as this eastern portion of the poeri.

We have however seen how the site of the bivouac was decided upon; in the beginning the locality was unknown and later on it could not well be changed. The Commander-in-chief chose the ground *in front* of the poeri; the choice was commendable, had the protected portion been utilized—but instead of that, the most unsheltered part of the site surrounded only by a low wall, was fixed upon for the bivouac. Sentimental considerations prevented the sites surrounded by the high walls being turned to account, as they had been the prince's places of prayer and sacrifice. In any case all such feelings should have been laid aside when information of the attack reached us.

Finally the 7th battalion, which would have been better off in every way by bivouacking in the poeri was placed in the sawah between Tjakra and Mataram, whereas, being intended to keep up communications between the strand bivouac and Tjakra, it would have been more advantageously situated either to the East of Mataram or West of Tjakra, instead of between these two points; this would have made all the difference as to safety and very little as to distance. There were too few troops considering the long line of communication and the peculiar position of the points to be held. Had one or other of the places which we suggest been selected and had the troops been amply provided with ammunition, food and drinking water, which was wanting at Tjakra they would have been protected from a sudden onslaught and would have been enabled to await events; they could have held out until help reached them or at least until they decided to force their way through the enemy and they would not have been so hampered with such a long train of wounded.

On the evening of the 11th July the two Generals and the Resident paid the old prince a visit at his poeri at Tjakra; it was a mere formality, as the Rajah appeared much too stupid and deaf to bear the strain of conversation. His deafness was real, but we are inclined to think that the illness and stupidity were assumed; for at the meetings convened during Lindgreen's imprisonment he showed great intelligence, as we shall see and at the time of his own incarceration he had quite recovered his health and his mental faculties were in no way weakened.

Was Djilantik behind the scenes? As it was evident that the Rajah was unfit to transact business, a messenger was sent the following day—12th July—to inform the successor to the throne, Anak Agong K"Toet, residing at Kota-Radja, that we were in occupation at Tjakra Nagara (This can hardly have been news!) and requested his presence as soon as possible, in order to discuss future plans. Four days later the crown

prince arrived and accompanied by Djilantik he came at once to pay his respects to the Commander-in-chief.

To do honour to the crown prince the 4 companies were drawn up "en haie", and went through numerous manual exercises; Djilantik was or pretended to be delighted with the performance and repeatedly expressed admiration at the men's skill. (Were they trying to hypnotize K"Toet?!)

The same evening the officers of the 7th battalion were commanded to accompany the Commander-in-chief to Mataram to return the prince's visit. "An escort had been sent to Tjakra to accompany the Commander-in-chief from headquarters to the prince's palace and they started in the following order. The procession was headed by a Balinese notable with a couple of lancers, followed by the bodyguard walking four abreast at a considerable distance apart from one another; these all wore caps with silver bands and carried Winchester repeating rifles over their shoulders, their legs were bare to above the knees and their faces betrayed consciousness of their great dignity. This body of forty men in green jackets was followed by fifty lancers in green jackets marching in the same order and then came the prince's gamelang; our band close upon this one was delighting its hearers with the strains of "Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ah." Walking behind this gay music is a very stately notable, carrying a magnificient costly kris, and immediately after him are General Vetter and General van Ham, on the right the Resident, on the left Gusti Djilantik. The officers bring up the rear and are surrounded by crowds of Balinese and Sassaks.

On their arrival at the palace at Mataram Anak Agong k'Toet came out to receive his guests; he took Generaal Vetter's arm and led him through the narrow little entrance door and then through a second one, both so narrow that it was necessary to pass through in single file, the passage was between high walls and still in the open air, until at last we reached a thatched shed and found a table and eight chairs. About fifty different kinds of refreshments were handed round in richly embossed gold and silver dishes, and this would really point to the conclusion that the crown prince was desirous of doing his best...."

On the 18th July a council was held at headquarters, at which Gusti Djilantik was present and from the colonial report on events in Lombock, we find "that the successor to the throne had been kept completely in the dark by his brother Anak Agong Madé, concerning current events in the island; that the acceptance of the ultimatum by the old Rajah was brought about by Gusti Djilantik, while Anak Agong k"Toet was absent at Kota Radja. It became therefore necessary to acquaint the crown prince with the contents of the ultimatum, whereupon he solemnly declared that he too accepted the articles contained in it and would comply with our demands"..... Anak Agong k"Toet impressed one as having no distinctly developed individuality of his own."

We have further evidence of this latter statement. For instance he trembled with fear and nervousness, when, on leaving the headquarters

on the arm of the General, he discovered the infantry going through their manual exercises on the high road and duriug the council big drops of perspiration dropped from his forehead. And yet.... the prince was certainly no coward, which he proved, when instead of taking flight like his relatives, he sought an honorable death from our bullets "such as is required by the Adat and the honour of a Rajah!"

It is impossible to follow the daily course of events; the troops are able to rest during these days of political discussion, concerning the best method of redressing grievances and introducing peace between Sassak and Balinese.

A depot of provisions was established at Ampenam and a similar one with a four days' food supply at Mataram, intended for the troops of the 7th battalion stationed there and for the bivouac at Tjakra Nagara, which sent out a foraging detachment daily. This was first done under cover of an escort, but latterly the escort was abandoned and one non-commissioned officer accompanied the carts. There seemed no further cause for fear; the natives moved about amongst the soldiers as if nothing were the matter; the markets were visited regularly and the vendors even brought their wares inside the bivouac, as the soldiers were not allowed to leave them. Both in their walks and in their rides, which they pushed further day by day, the officers met with universal courtesy; the Balinese women soon lost their shyness and at night time the notorious panjoerans no longer hesitated to wander about in the neighbourhood of the bivouacs.

Every day the Rajah sent presents of fruit, kwee-kwee (cakes) etc., to the Commander-in-chief.

The attitude of the inhabitants, from the highest to the lowest, denoted a desire for peace and friendship and it is easy to understand that under such gratifying circumstances no one should have harboured thoughts of a rough and cruel termination to this happy state of affairs.

In fact the Government considered it safe to re-ship the heavy guns to Surabaya and to re-call the observation-corps from Bouléleng to Java.

Having achieved such a brilliant success by the fear and dread of our arms, if not by the use of them, let us return to our political negociations. The Commander-in-chief was in a dilemma!

"If the policy of the Indian Government," says the Colonial Adviser, to which we have so often referred, "had from the beginning been directed to keeping the treatment the Civil Government in its hands, it must of necessity have depended on the result of the Expedition, what course of conduct was to be pursued in regard to the regulation of internal affairs towards the princely house of Bali. The unexpected and immediate submission of the Government deprived them of any occasion for departing from the policy determined on in dealing with that Government."

There is no fault to find with this way of reasoning, but the question as to whether it was sound policy or not still remains open.

Those who have followed us thus far, know: —

How great the difference between the two races was in origin, disposition, nature, language, religion, morals, and customs;

How during the last half century the original inhabitants have been trodden down by the Balinese; how repeatedly the Sassaks have attempted unsuccessfully to thrown off the oppressor's yoke;

How this oppression had of late years reached the climax by (we will quote the exact words of the colonial report) "the extortionate and arbitrary taxation; the heavy feudal duties; the application of the so called tjampoet and mandjing; (disposal of wife and daughters and property of men dying without male issue), the enforced surrender to the prince of all twin children of the same sex; the prohibition of marriages between Sassak men and Balinese women, although the reverse was allowed; the contributions for the numerous banquets the prince was accustomed to give; the restriction on the chiefs not to leave their districts under penally of death; the arbitrary power over life and death in the absence of a verdict by the judges; the grinding taxes....."

How these miserable people rose once again, and, full of hatred against the name of Balinese, swore never to submit any more to the princely rule of Bali;

How they implored of us, both by letters and embassies, to go to their assistance;

How we hesitated and delayed;

How in despair the Sassaks fought themselves free, in so far at least, that no Balinese dared raise his voice in Sassak territory; and finally how the Sassaks had in consequence been subject to no authority whatever for two years.

The instructions of the Commander-in-chief were to bring together these two opposing elements.

So much has been said and written regarding these instructions that we give them here in full:

Art. I. The object of the Expedition is to force the Lombock Government to comply with the demands made by the Netherlands Indian Government through the Commander-in-chief. (Pages 24 and 43.)

Art. II. After the arrival of the Expeditionary force in Lombock waters, the Commander-in-chief shall, before disembarking his troops, notify the prince's government in writing of the conditions contained in article I, and at the same time inform him,.... that, as the prince's government has failed to satisfy the demands put forth by the Resident of Bali and Lombock in the name of H. E. the Gov.-Gen. of the Dutch Indies, His Excellency has decided to put his threat into execution and to terminate by force of arms the deplorable condition of the country; that, before actually having recourse to armed force, His Excellency desires to give the princes a last opportunity to submit to the Government of their own free will, that if they choose to take advantage of this opportunity, they must accede to the demands in full within a very short space of time—to be defined by the Commander-in-chief;

that if at the expiration of the allotted time a satisfactory reply has not been received, hostilities are to begin at once;

and lastly, if all the articles and conditions are agreed to, no hostilities will take place, but the troops will land and remain on shore until all claims are satisfied, or where this is impossible, until such guarantees shall be given as will ensure their fulfilment.

Art. III. Every precaution must be taken while landing the troops and during further operations that no damage be done to the harbour of Ampenam;

Art. IV. In case of Europeans being found at Ampenam, every effort must be made to induce them to go on board our steamers before operations begin;*

Art. V. The object of the eventual operations is to seize Mataram and to occupy both the town and neighbouring forts;

Art. VI. The Commander-in-chief must take the necessary measures to protect that part of the population who are taking no share in the hostilities. Moreover he must check all attempts at incendiarism and devastation.

Art. VII. It is left to the discretion of the Commander-in-chief to make use of the Sassak population where needful; but it is desirable that they should not be called upon to do any actual fighting; this would give rise to certain claims on the part of the Sassak chiefs and would cause additional complications later on.

It would be advisable to obtain the services of the Sassaks as carriers in return for payment.

Art. VIII. As soon as the surrender is achieved, either by acceptance of the ultimatum or by force of arms, the prince must be notified that our claims are to be satisfied at once. The object set forth in Art. I will not be considered as attained until all the demands are satisfied, or where this is not feasible, until such guarantees are given as will completely insure their fulfilment.

The Commander-in-chief must not rest content with a promise of future payment of the war expenses, if he has reason to believe that the princes are in a position to defray them at once, either entirely or in part. Under these circumstances the Commander-in-chief shall insist upon an immediate instalment being paid; and a further sum as soon as he shall have made the estimate of the expenses.

Art. IX. Until the object of the Expedition, in the sense of the foregoing article, has been obtained the Expeditionary force is to occupy the island of Lombock.

Art. X. In all political matters the Commander-in-chief is to act after conferring with the Resident of Bali and Lombock attached to his staff.

Art. XI. The Commander-in-chief is not authorized to enact any new regulations in the island, but after the actual campaign is to make such representations and suggestions to the Governor-General as may be called forth by the situation.

Art. XII. The Commander-in-chief must acquaint the Second-in-command with all his plans and intentions. (In the event of the latter's having to assume chief-command, he would have to carry out all the instructions received by the Commander-in-chief.)

Art. XIII. The Governor-General is to be immediately informed of every important occurrence connected with the Expedition.

* An Englishman, a Mr. Cropley and an Austrian residing at Ampenam refused to take advantage of the invitation conveyed to them to take refuge on one of our steamers. It being suspected that they were in league with the Balinese they were placed in confinement to prevent their travelling to the interior. During the absence of the Commander-in-chief on the East coast Cropley succeeded in obtaining leave from the second-in-command to go to the interior temporarily to settle his business matters. After the attack they were immediately taken on board the *Prins Hendrik* and kept prisoners, until they were taken to Surabaya, where they were released owing to insufficient evidence against them.

Let us give honour where honour is due and frankly acknowledge that the so frequently made mistake of dividing the responsibility of leading the expedition and the result thereof between the Commander-in-chief and the highest civil authority was avoided. In article X it is most distinctely stated that the Commander-in-chief acts in political matters after conferring with the Resident attached to him. This is perfectly clear, the Commander-in-chief is the sole person responsible, also in political matters; this is the correct course, where our wishes have to be enforced by fighting.

The political view of the Government is as we have seen to assist this ill-treated people, but at the same time (Art I and II) they propose to maintain in authority the prince, the oppressor of the people.... Thus, in spite of the best of intentions, they really placed General Vetter between two fires.

If the main object of the Expedition was reconciliation—and this we have proved to be out of the question—then we should have kept to a course of negociations and have sent presents as in olden days, instead of sending soldiers and cannons.

"But (says the writer in "Het Vaderland", 15 November) if we proposed to repress wrong doing and considered it our duty to put a stop to all atrocities within our dominions of the East Indian Archipelago, emphasizing our determination by a military expedition, well and good! Having regard to the existing conditions of Lombock General Vetter should have been empowered to declare the reigning rajah dethroned and to have made him a prisoner, exiled him and confiscated his property; it would have been time to consider the future administration of the island after every inhabitant of Lombock had submitted to the Netherlands Government."

This decision should have been clearly specified in Articles I and II.

The prince would of course have refused these terms and we should have come to blows at once! Exactly; we should have begun hostilities at once, or at least on the 11th July, and it is probable that our losses might have exceeded those we suffered when the attack took place; but our position would have been clear from the outset and our men would have fallen in honorable strife and no reproach would have attached to our brave and honest soldiers.

The General might have refused to be the bearer of such a mandate; but this we refuse to admit.

Had the Commander-in-chief been thoroughly familiar with the true political situation, he would have known that the object of the Expedition was *not* attained with the submission of the princes and that at this point, the difficulties were only about to begin in earnest, and that consequently positive safety was the first requisite.

We can blame no one for the present state of affairs, it is more the fault of the age than of the individual; we have more than once observed how prejudicial it is that polities should occupy no place in the

training of our officers for the Indian Army. What a different system is followed in British India.

It is seriously hoped that past occurrences may induce our Government to yield to the oft-repeated suggestion, that officers of the General Staff should be attached to the Governors and Residents in our colonies.

The political mistake, committed by the desire of the Government to maintain the reigning house of Lombock, led to the military mistake of her highest military servant.....

In this instance we have a redeeming point, well worthy of notice in striking contrast to the general rule of history, where the consequences of a political mistake are visited upon the military commander who has conscientiously obeyed higher orders; we here see the Governor General taking the entire blame upon himself and screening the Commander-in-chief, whom he maintains in his post, thus affording him ample opportunity to retrieve his error and re-establish his fame for courage and skill!

In order to arrive at an understanding it was necessary to see the Sassak chiefs and obtain their co-operation; accordingly controller Liefrinck and captain Willenstijn started on the 13th July for the East coast of Lombock, where they arrived two days later. They had several conferences with the principal chiefs, who though apparently willing to follow the instructions of our government showed decided disinclination to accompany Liefrinck to Tjakra Nagara to discuss matters with the Commander-in-chief. They alleged various motives, some were afraid of going by sea, others by land, etc.

The Controller and the Captain were obliged to depart, taking with them only three chiefs and not very influential ones either; all the others had promised to meet at Praja, the border of their territories, on the 23rd and march through Balinese country together till they reached the Residence of the Commander-in-chief.

An unexpected incident was brought to light during this trip. A native adventurer, Daeng Ginoro, had appeared on the island and had obtained a large following of Sassaks on the East coast and chiefly at Sakra; he came to free them from the Balinese and being no friend of ours, pointed out to the people that our presence in the island merely meant a change of masters whilst he would give them freedom....

His attitude towards our envoys at Sakra was most arrogant and overbearing; it is probably only due to their calm behaviour and a severe warning to the chief of Sakra that nothing serious occurred.

At the meeting between the Commander-in-chief and the three Sassak chiefs, they were ordered to deliver up this adventurer living or dead into our hands; while attempts were being made to seize Ginoro, he was shot dead by our friend, Raden Ginawan, the chief of Batu Klian. The head was severed from the body and sent to the Commander-in-chief!

Fortunately for us this crisis was promptly ended, and the orders

that had been given to van Lawick's column to advance from Ampenam to Batu Klian and seize Ginora were superfluous.

After their return to Tjakra Nagara, Controller Liefrinck and Captain Willemstijn went, as arranged, to Praja to meet all the chiefs who had promised to assemble there on the 23rd.

On their arrival they only found two of the most influential chiefs and these two happened to live there; they declared that none of the others had dared leave their districts for fear of the Balinese taking possession of their property, and notwithstanding the written assurances of the Commander-in-chief that no harm should befall them, that they should if desired have a military escort back to their dessas, nothing would induce them to leave their homes; and even those two at Praja absolutely refused to accompany the controller to Tjakra Nagara!

It seemed impossible to reason with these people.

When finally the controller removed one by one all the difficulties and insisted upon their going to Tjakra with him, they showed him a letter written by Gusti Djilantik to one of the Sassak chiefs, and as they had decided never to place themselves again under the Balinese they could not possibly go and discuss matters with the Commander-in-chief. In this letter Djilantik informed Mami Anon that it was decided to raise Anak Agong k'Toet to the throne; the hated Madé being dead, they had nothing more to fear and there were no reasons existing now to prevent the Sassaks submitting to the old order of things. Besides if they persisted in their decision not to recognize Balinese rule, the General and his soldiers would compel them to do so by force.

He advised them to come to Tjakra Nagara as soon as possible and he promised them his protection.

Who can fathom the depth of Djilantik's motives? Did he foresee that an ultimate division of the land was inevitable, and was he seeking to obtain influence over the Sassaks at this period, so as to facilitate his being created their acknowledged head later on?

The Commander-in-chief showed his displeasure with Djilantik very plainly: "In future no steps were to be taken by him nor yet in his name to urge the Sassaks to submission." Djilantik took the reprimand very much to heart and in private he told General van Ham that he "would put up with any rebuff from him, that he might even beat him or kick him if he liked, but he would never take such a scolding from the Commander-in-chief again!"

The deputation to Praja had failed in its mission; and what was the Commander-in-chief to do?

He could not compel the Sassaks to submit to the Rajah against their will; he had come with the object of helping them out of their troubles; besides who could foretell the consequences of such a proceeding!

There were two ways out of the difficulty; one was to proclaim the Sassaks independent under their own chiefs and the other was to place them under our own control. The former plan offered no advantage; the various chiefs were all jealous of one another, and not one amongst

them possessed sufficient authority or knowledge to be placed over the others; such a course would have paved the way for endless intrigues like those we had had to settle at Bali and furthermore it would have been opposed to our promises to the princes—and to the instructions of the Commander-in-chief. The second alternative was not feasible under the existing circumstances for the same reasons, that is to say because it was opposed to the instructions. It is an elementary principle of statesmanship to hold the native princes and chiefs in honour, to support their authority and not to extend our direct control at their expense. In the abstract nothing can be simpler or more just than to govern the people through their princes and where it has been practicable, so as on the East coast of Sumatra, or Borneo or Celebes, we have adhered to the principle with very satisfactory results.

Circumstances have forced us sometimes to introduce direct administration, in cases where there are no chiefs of sufficient influence or men whom we could rely upon and in every instance the inhabitants have gained advantages never enjoyed under their own princes.

There are people who contend that this course entails too great a strain upon our finances and upon our administrative forces; statistics entirely disprove this statement.

Take Java; although there are fewer European officials employed there, comparatively speaking, still the revenues are no larger in proportion than those of the Government residencies.

Do we not reap more advantages from Palembang, under our direct administration, than we do from the West coast and Borneo? and what could be more satisfactory than the financial results of Boelêleng and Djembrana? *

The proportion of officials employed in Palembang is the same as on the West coast of Borneo; in the former—exclusive of Djambi—we have 24 officials to a population of 588.000 souls and in the latter 16 officials to 383.000 inhabitants. In the Residency on the East coast of Sumatra with 230.000 inhabitants, or two-fifths of Palembang, there are 18 officials, where as according to the proportion of the population 10 ought to suffice.

We may conclude therefore by saying that had we not been bound by our contract to the princes there was no valid reason why we should have abstained from placing the Sassak territory under our direct administration.

Those terrible occurrences of 25—26 August relieved us of this last obligation and put an end to what would have proved an untenable position in the long run.

Furnished with the authorization of the Governor General the Com-

* In an article bij Heer Kilstra in „Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad" of 3 Nov. 1894 we find the following: the sum total of the taxes in Boelêleng and Djembrana amounted to fls. 291.000 and the expenditure to fls. 112.000;

The revenue of the Western division of Borneo was fls. 433.000 and the expenditure fls. 890.000;

In Palembang the revenue was fls. 1.503.000 and the expenditure fls. 1.314.000.

mander-in-chief determined to meet the chiefs of the East coast in their own territory, being fully persuaded that no definite settlement could be arrived at without very tangible guarantees. On the 4th August the Commander-in-chief, accompanied by the Resident, the chief of his staff, controller Liefrinck and his aide-de-camp Lieutenant Kolting, reached the seaboard town Labuan Hadji, where all the principal Sassak' chiefs had assembled. The same day a conference was begun, which lasted for three days; on the one hand there was a detailed recapitulation of all the grievances with which we are acquainted, on the other the decisions of the Government were stated regarding the future administration of Lombock.

The Commander-in-chief promised to propose to the Governor-General that a European representative should be established at Mataram and on the East coast of Lombock to check any usurpation of power on the part of the Balinese princes. The Balinese and the Sassaks alike were to remain under Balinese rule, which was to be administered by their respective chiefs, who were to be approved of by the Government and not to be dismissed at the will of the princes.

Finally all the mutual duties of prince and people were to be minutely regulated, "the mandjing and tjampoet" were to be abolished and provision should be made to insure respect for the religious laws and institutions of the people. The chiefs were perfectly satisfied with all the proposals, but objected, that they were bound by their oath never to submit to Balinese rule; accordingly at the second meeting one hadji and one panghoeloe were present, with the result that the chiefs were released from their oaths, which were no longer binding under the altered circumstances. At the last meeting this resolution was ratified in a written document and three of the chiefs were appointed to accompany the Commander-in-chief to Tjakra Nagara to assist at the final councils.

He returned to Ampenam on the 8th August, having successfully accomplished his mission. The Sassaks were quite satisfied with what was to be the new order of things..... their days of oppression were over and no Balinese would interfere with them in future. Events will show whether the Balinese were equally satisfied, but meanwhile we will return to our troops.

It is difficult to describe life in an Indian bivouac, where the monotonous daily life is a repetition of the day before. The place of the bivouac, which we have shown in the sketch, reminds one of an old-fashioned town where all the principal buildings form the centre and the least important houses and people are kept at a respectable distance. Here we have the square with the quarters of the Commander-in-chief, as in the old town there was the market-place with its town-hall; then there are the narrow passages and streets with the police patrols, corresponding to the old night watchmen and at the entries and exits there are the sentries on duty carefully scrutinizing all who come and go.

But how vastly different is the life of the camp to that of the old provincial town!

While the darkness of night still overspreads the camp dark black figures move stealthily along between the sheds and wend their way towards the kitchens: they are the convicts, whose duty it is to prepare breakfast for the troops; at this point the comparison between camp and town ceases, for nowhere have we seen it related that the burgomaster provided meals for his fellow-citizens!

In the bivouac space is very limited; we see the officers of a company lodged in small sheds, no larger than a horse-box, and literally sharing

Bivouac of the Field-Artillery.

bed and board; even the quarters of the Commander-in-chief are barely the size of his bath-room in Batavia, and they are shared by his aide-de-camp.

Sometimes during the night there is a little extra room, when some of the troops are sent off on unexpected marches, orders being kept secret until the last moment; they dress in the dark, grope about for their guns and are ready to start in half an hour's time: they are ready to go when and where they are told without any questions, prepared to obey and to follow their leaders blindly and confidently even to death.

As yet however, they are allowed to rest; when they do get up they

all go and bathe in the cool refreshing stream close by... if they are so fortunately situated.

After the early swim all are ready for their breakfast of soup or rice; the sun rises slowly and the scorching heat soon compels all who are not on duty to retreat into the shadiest nook they can find and there is little or no movement in the camp during the middle of the day. Towards sunset the cool evening breeze restores life in the bivouac, the soldiers sing merrily and the natives play sad melancholy music; the twilight is full of mysteries, sounds of men and animals mingle with the sweet fragrance of the trees and plants and the Europeans abandon themselves to the enjoyment of the delicious tropical evening allowing their thoughts to wander away from the scene, whilst the natives are happy playing cards round a little oil-lamp!

Preparations are already being made for the morrow in some quarters; the chief is making out his daily report and some are busy writing home. Soon the 'last post' is sounded and all turn in to rest, excepting those on whom the watch devolves.

In order to prevent the great evil of "boredom" penetrating amongst the troops not engaged in actual combat, also to add to our topographical acquaintance with the country and to keep the soldiers well exercised, marches were made daily along the numerous roads or to one of the many country seats belonging to the prince's family. We will follow van Alting von Geusau on one or two of these excursions; in his diary he describes the expedition to "Narmada", the palace which was not completed at the time of controller Heijliger's visit in 1884:

"The natives are seated on either side of the road staring with all their might and main at the wonderful appearance of properly drilled troops, they are filled with awe at the sounds of the lusty Western music, contrasting so strikingly with the apathy that breathes from their island "gamelangs" and there is no doubt but that we shall survive in the imagination of these good people as titans and giants who came with great fire-ships to punish Anak Agong Madé for all his misdeeds. One cannot help noticing that, though in the aggregate the Balinese seem strangely afraid to fight us, taken singly they do not evince very much fear of the soldiers, who have come to conquer!—Yesterday a man passed so close to me in the open road that he actually trod on my foot; I did not hesitate to send him rolling with a kick, nevertheless he had been guilty of an act of marked disrespect!"

There is no doubt about it, at this stage of the business, the Balinese had got over their first fears!

"Well then, it was settled that we were to start early yesterday morning for "Narmada", the country residence of the old Rajah of Lombock. The son of Agong k'Toet, recently recognized by the Commander-in-chief as successor to the throne, was supposed to be residing here, but he was absent.

"Outside Tjakra Nagara the scenery is very similar to most Indian landscapes; sawahs, cocoa-nut-trees, bamboo plantations, small woods

just like at Java; the only noticeable difference is that the kampongs are more extensive, small dessas are unknown and no one would venture to establish himself beyond the kampong boundary line.

"We reached Narmada at 8.30 a.m. after a two and a half hour's march, and, as we remained there four hours, I had ample time to look round the neighbourhood, beginning, naturally, with the palace. It is situated on the South side of the road; as is customary, the entrance is through a very narrow doorway, only admitting of one person passing at a time and leading to a large open square, dotted over with numerous dirty little sheds or huts. On the right hand side of the square is a pond plentifully supplied with "goramek" and "bandeng", some of which we caught by means of hook and line and a couple of "ketans" (little rice sweetmeats). On the opposite side of the square, near the door we had to go through, was a small house, where ten soldiers of the prince's body-guard were stationed; their spears, the only weapons they then had, were all placed neatly in a row on a rack. I was surprised to see some cannons and some muskets bearing the same mark as their coins (Alg. Oost-Ind. Comp.) and evidently made at Enkhuizen and I am at a loss to understand their presence there.

"To the left of the second square are a few sheds said to contain the prince's kepéngs and to the right is the harem. In addition to the servant's quarters, standing out in squalid contrast, there were only three buildings of any importance, two of which were provided with galleries a couple of mètres from the ground and profusely hung with European and Chinese prints! The doors were all symetrically designed and wonderfully carved, besides being prettily decorated with variegated flowers. The third building contained a couple of sleeping apartments leading off from a large centre gallery, which is reached by ascending about ten to twelve steps; the view obtainable from the gallery is such as to make one marvel at the native architecture and industry and will ever recur to my memory should I feel inclined to labour under the delusion that the people possess no real energy or determination. The attention is immediately arrested by a projecting right angle of seven large terraces, on the highest of which stands a dewa-temple dedicated to the Hindu gods; the terraces are used for the services and ceremonies in honour of Madjapahit. Advantage has been taken of a spring close by to lay out most magnificent waterworks, principally for baths, thus the prince's private bath is supplied by fifteen jets of everflowing crystal-like water and a lower terrace has a bath supplied by eight jets from the same source. At the foot of the terraces is a pond 100 mètres long, but unlike the generality of them it is not square; where there are no terraces grass mounds have been raised to the height of 20 mètres, all having arbours on the tops; on the North was a fine rockery and on the South a lovely richly-planted table-land."

"The sides of the pond are of stonework and the water runs into it from two different points; there is a waterfall two mètres high on the East providing a perpetual supply of water so clear and transparent that

the little fish swimming about are easily discernible. After spending some time in admiring this really fine pond, we proceeded in a southerly direction and here we found subject for admiration, but this time it was not man's handiwork; it was a most fascinating little brook gliding smoothly along amidst the high slopes with their luxurious plantations, so graceful and pretty in its windings, that one could not fail being struck at its loveliness; ivy trails along the waterside and magnificent green ferns adorn the banks, whilst bamboos bend elegantly above the ferns, ivy and water. The pond is pretty, but that little stream outstrips it in its simple grandeur!

".... Outside the Narmada kampong the road is very steep.... we are told that this is the point where the last encounter took place between the Sassaks and the Balinese, when the fighting was of such a desperate nature, that both sides were completely exhausted and forced to retreat. Although it is months since the event took place, the country bears witness to the struggle: everything looks sad and desolate, the kampongs are deserted and burnt to the ground and all the trees are cut down! Sad picture of a battle-field in all its naked horrer!

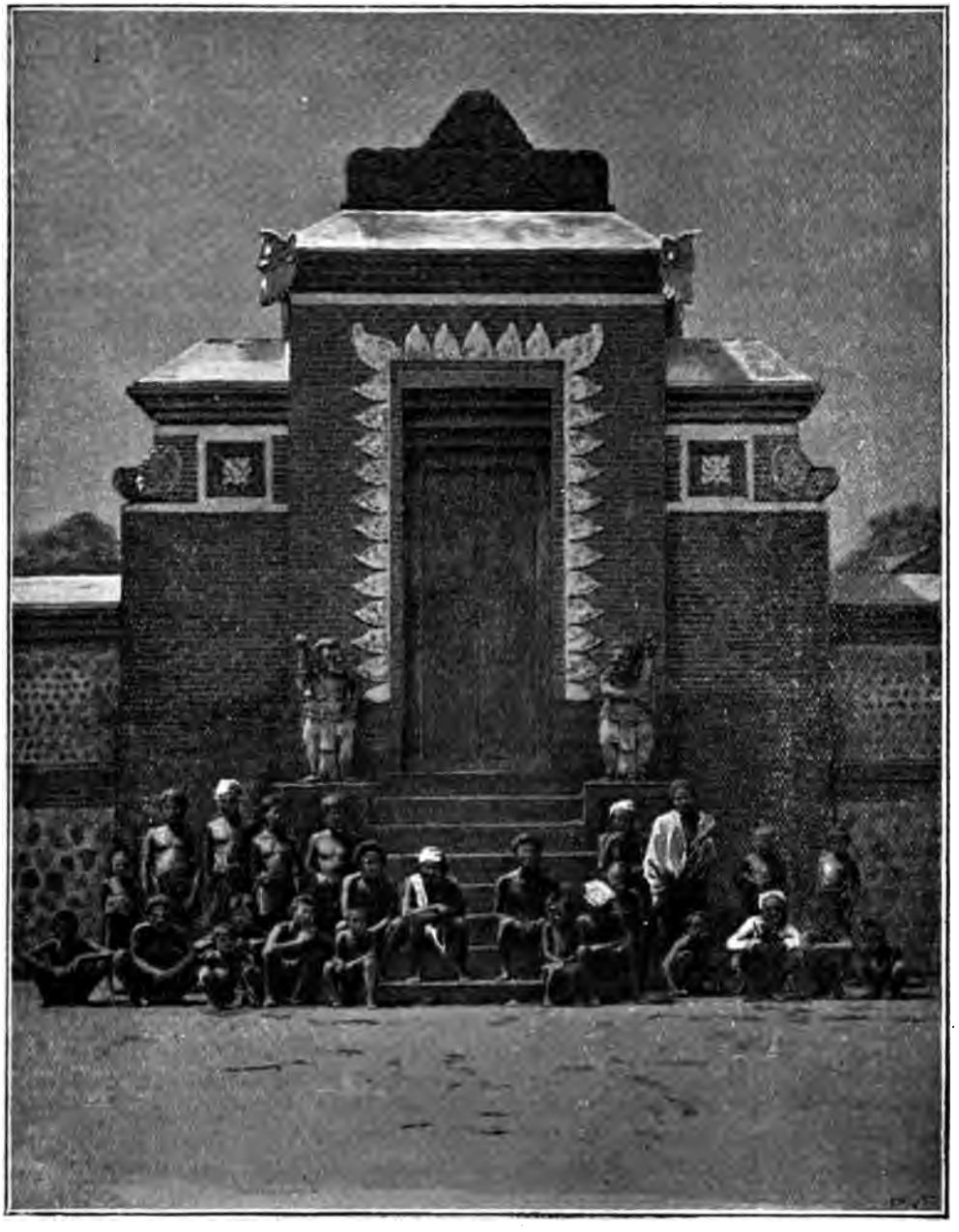
"I should have enjoyed going with some of the artillery who went on an expedition to Praja, the seat of the Sassak rebellion; it is situated in the centre of the Southern division of Salamparang. There is a three hour's ride through the most complete scene of desolation, a few shrubs here and there and at intervals a skeleton."

Lieutenant Alting von Geusau did not accompany the column sent to Praja, but another, of which we shall hear presently. The next expedition he made was to the recently built country-seat of Madé; the enormous difficulties attendant on laying the foundations for the deep ponds constituted one of the immediate causes of the insurrection, as thousands of the natives were forced to work without payment, such work being looked upon as part of their duties as vassals.

"Lingsar" was the residence of the notorious Anak Agong Madé; the continual presence of the master's eye was visible at first sight, for it was in all respects kept up better than the other princely residences, but there was something about the place which repelled me. The road leading to it was inferior to the one running to Narmada, still there were rows of cocoa-nut trees and sweet-smelling nangkas, but on the whole I was disappointed. In spite of the superficial appearance of care bestowed on the place, there were many weeds in the garden and the banks of the pond were in disrepair; the pond is 300 mètres long by 50 mètres wide and is ornamented with some very ugly statues, the water is supplied by the Songei Antjar, which apparently rises at Lingsar.

"When leave was given the men of the battalion to bathe, it was a curious sight to see a couple of hundred white and brown mortals jump into the water and so thoroughly enjoy swimming about together.

"The only thing of real interest on this estate was the Budhist temple; Madé's private apartments were closed, but according to hearsay they are no better than common barns. We had some difficulty in persuading



Budhist Temple at Lingear.

the guardian to let us pass into the temple enclosure, but finally he opened the gate and our sacrilegious feet trod upon the clay soil where the temple stood."

We will not describe the general disposition of the temple; they are all more or less on the same plan.

"A great walled-in square with a magnificent blue dome.... the sky. The first object to attract our notice was the source of the Songei Antjar, held to be sacred and encircled by a thick wall; to visit the source we had to creep through a narrow low doorway, constructed, I should say, to teach the people how to bend. The water was of a pronounced blue and here and there were kepengs on the ground, offerings I suppose, from people who had come to derive benefit from the healing properties of the source. On each side of this curious little well were stone steps, at the top of which a door guarded by female Budhist statues and leading to the actual places of sacrifice, of which there were seven....

"This is all I can say of the much-talked-of Lingsar! I have no hesitation in stating that both Narmada and Gunong Sari surpass it in every way.

"But what is the good of long marches and wading through about twenty rivers, some knee-deep, to go and visit a place like that, when within a quarter of an hour of our camp there is the fine residence of Tjakra Nagara?"

As we are acquainted with the plan of Tjakra Nagara we will only quote the description of the lake.

"There is a magnificent lake on the right which I reckon to be 600 mètres long and 200 wide; it is planted round with fine tall trees and in the centre is an island about 20 mètres long and 10 wide, access to which is obtained by a bank of earth from the side and shut off by a prettily carved wooden door. A small house with marble floors is on the island; these were the first I have seen in all the princely dwellings. It was very comfortably arranged, a nice open gallery and a couple of bed-rooms. This appears to have been the favorite home of the old Rajah. In the neighbourhood was a Chinese carriage to be drawn by men; it was the only thing of the kind that I have seen in Lombock."

To conclude, we will give a description of one more military march:

"It was South this time and then along the coast, but we paid no heed to wet feet. Here we traversed entirely deserted kampongs, one continuous scene of ruin and devastation, broken down walls and burnt down houses. A native who attached himself to our column told us that ten months previously Madé had ordered the destruction of the kampongs and all the women and children were murdered; he himself had been wounded and his wife and five children killed.

What a miserable wretch that Madé must have been!

At last we reached the sea; on the left, Southwards, the mountains rise straight from the sea, forming a splendid back-ground for one of

our white government steamers; facing us was the immeasurable sea and Bali was not within sight. The water was calm and here and there a native was rowing his own peculiar little boat; to the North was a projecting cape, against which the ships in the roadstead of Ampenam showed up well. Besides the men of war there were only two steamers belonging to the Steam Navigation Company and they all presented a very interesting scene. In the far distance in a N. W. direction the peak of Bali pierces the clouds like a giant pyramid; and further still; beyond Bali and East Java, I could distinguish the Sumbing, and beneath it is Magalang and our little house. . . ."

Alas! this young officer never saw his home again.

The negociations with Anak Agong k'Toet, destined by the terms of the ultimatum to be his father's successor on the throne, were begun immediately after the return of the Commander-in-chief from his trip to the East coast. Conferences were held daily and the crown prince, always accompanied by Djilantik, took but a silent part and wore the aspect of a condemned man.

To all questions put to him he invariably replied "patoet", meaning "very well" or "what you say is right." The business was proceeding both rapidly and satisfactorily; k'Toet raised no objections to anything; without a word of protest he agreed to the war indemnity—Art. VII of the ultimatum—fixed at one million florins, which in accordance with Articles VIII and IX in the instructions of the Commander-in-chief was to be paid before the departure of the expeditionary force from Lombock. He undertook, without comment, to contribute fls. 25.000 annually towards the expenses of our administration in Lombock. (In compliance with the promise made to the Sassak chiefs, the Commander-in-chief had suggested the advisabilty of Dutch inspectors at Mataram and East Lombock to the Governor-General, who by the 16th August had obtained telegraphic consent to the proposal from the home government).

Matters are progressing so speedily that the departure of the troops is within measurable distance; the Commander-in-chief decides that it is time for the Karang Assim troops to return to their own shores; hitherto they have been doing outpost duty, which is no longer needed; the fortresses built by the Sassaks are to be dismantled; the high roads which had been destroyed and rendered impassable at various points were to be repaired and the inhabitants who had been driven or had fled from their dessas were to return without fear and begin work again, by cultivating the neglected sawahs.

Djilantik agreed to the plan that his troops should be conveyed to Bali on board the "Maetsuijcker", daily expected from Surabaya and two columns were ordered to advance into the interior to give notice of the new arrangements.

One column under lieutenant-colonel van Bijlevelt was to bivouac either at Sukarara or Praja for a few days and started from Tjakra Nagara at 7 a.m. on the 17th of August; it consisted of the 1st and

3rd companies of the 6th battalion stationed there, one section of mountain artillery, one section of engineers, the necessary train, an ambulance, a military surveyor and four cavalry soldiers. They reached Sukarara at 3.30 p.m. and took up their quarters in the bivouac prepared for them by the people, situated in an open sawah about 500 mètres from the kampong.

In accordance with their instructions daily marches were made in various directions to ensure the orders being carried out to dismantle the forts, repair the roads and encourage the people to return to their homes and resume their daily avocations.

"Van Lawick's column marching to Batu Klian."

The second column under lieutenant-colonel van Lawick van Pabst was similarly composed and was ordered to Batu Klian, its special mission being to capture Daeng Ginoro; they set out on the morning of the 17th August, two Companies of the ninth battalion (the 2nd native and the 4th European) starting from Ampenam and spending one day at Tjakara Nagara where the remainder of the column was made up, only leaving two companies of the 6th battalion at Tjakra Nagara. The next morning after tidings had been received of the unexpected death of Daeng Ginoro the column set out accompanied by the band of the 6th battalion to within a quarter of an hour of

Narmada which was reached about 9 a.m. At 10 a.m. they crossed the S. Babak, a river 40 mètres wide and 1 mètre deep, the bed of which was composed of huge stones, rendering the passage exceedingly difficult for the artillery and the train. Very shortly after leaving Narmada the neglected condition of the road was striking, it soon lost itself in a narrow footpath barely wide enough for two men to walk a-breast and frequently requiring the services of the engineers to make it passable for the artillery. Not a single dwelling was visible between the river and Batu Klian, the whole country resembled a desert and all that remained of Pringarata, a former shooting box of the prince, were a few delapidated walls, showing traces of what once had been a kampong. After a short halt here the troops continued their march through further scenes of ruin and destruction now filling the places of scenery once so much admired by travellers like Zollinger and Treyss but converted into a vast wilderness by the cruel way in which Madé carried on war. At 2.30 p.m. men and horses were able to refresh themselves at a wayside spring and in a couple of hours resumed their march until 7.30 p.m. when they bivouacked for the night at a distance of 2½ hours march from Balu Klian; the following morning they started early and reached this once so noted dessa at half past nine. Their reception by the people was all that could be desired and provisions of bamboo and other necessaries for erection of the sheds for the troops were brought in profusion to the chosen spot, close to which was a clear running stream, which had indeed proved one of the chief attraction of the bivouac.

On the 20th August the commandant of the column with a detachment of 75 bayonets to each company and half a section of engineers pushed on to Swangi, a couple of pals* (1 pal = 1506 mètres) south of Sakra, on the East coast, to hold a parley with the principal chiefs there; the remainder of the troops were left to complete the establishment of the bivouac. This column reached Swangi at 2.30 p.m.; all preparations in the way of food had been extensively made, the natives having been informed of their intending visit by an inhabitant of Koupang through which kampong they had passed earlier. After the conference with the chiefs, the return march was made the same day, but by a shorter road; the troops arrived in camp at Batu Klian at 8 p.m. having done 32 miles that day.

The next few days were spent in visiting the different neighbourhoods and the engineers superintended the repairing of the roads, where possible. After the morning's march the afternoon was frequently spent in consulation with the chiefs who squatted round the major listening to his orders and suggestions.

Instead of following the columns on their daily excursions we will return to the main body and the chiefs events of the last days preceding the attack. First however we will say a word or two about the wisdom of despatching the columns into the interior, which action has

* Pal = 1650 yards, i. e. nearly a mile.

given rise to conflicting opinions. On the one hand it is alleged that by sending them to such long distances the main body was considerably weakened and that the forces were much too scattered, thus as it were playing into the enemy's hands; in objection to this it is said that, each column being strong enough in itself to fulfil its appointed task, there can be no question of scattering the forces, that in former campaigns, the entire expedition was often no stronger than one of these separate detachments, which were sufficiently formidable to impress the native enemy. The expeditions to the interior of Lombock partook more of the character of excursions and although such small forces would never have undertaken similar marches in Bali, Boni or Atcheen, they would certainly have made similar ones in the Batak territory, in the thinly populated districts of Sumatra and in Borneo. In forming an opinion on this question one must bear in mind the strength and organization of the enemy to be dealt with and although 300 men may have been considered a sufficient force to reduce Lombock to submission in the previous century, the case is materially altered at the present day and not to our advantage.

We cannot deny that after the division of the forces, Ampenam and Tjakra Nagara were left very weak, especially the latter and as soon as the Commander-in-chief received information of the impending attack his first act was to send reinforcements there.

The point to be decided before forming an opinion, is whether at the time the columns were moving about, there was any thought of hostilities or not; it appears to us that there can have been no fears on that score: the Sassaks were perfectly satisfied and the Balinese appeared to be.

We consider that the situation of the troops whilst marching was far less dangerous than being all gathered together at Tjakra and Mataram, when total annihilation from a treacherous enemy was far more likely than when there was less concentration; besides there was not a single advantage to be gained by remaining in the insufficiently fortified bivouacs, whereas the knowledge of the country obtained during the marches proved very valuable. We think there is everything to be said in defence of the course of the Commander-in-chief, who when he decided upon it, was thoroughly convinced of the sincerity of the Balinese; still we had laid down very stringent conditions, difficult of acceptance and sure to cause many heartburnings; these facts should have been borne in mind and our attitude regulated accordingly.

The discussions concerning the treaty were at an end and nothing was wanting but the final approval of the princes and notables. When the negociations which had been carried on in Malay were over, the Commander-in-chief said to Djilantik: "Have they clearly grasped the meaning of the conditions?" "I have perfectly," was the reply; "That is not what I mean; I wish to know whether K'Toet who has to carry out the treaty, has understood?"—"Not one single word!"

Controller Liefrinck was instructed to translate the treaty into Balinese; as he handed them sheet by sheet, princes and poenggawas studied each point carefully and minutely and they were not slow to discover that this contract, securing autonomy for the Sassaks, by the presence of our representatives, was the death blow to their power and influence over these people whom hitherto they had trodden to the ground and that henceforth there was an end to all the privileges and benefits which they had so largely enjoyed either secretly or publicly, rightly or wrongly.

Combination was all they could oppose to this curtailment of their privileges and circumstances favored them; during the last few years the Lombock princes had purchased large supplies of the best and most modern weapons and had accumulated an abundance of ammunition.... certainly not from any special sense of friendship towards us.

In view of our unexpected arrival—we had so often threatened before—and our incredible display of strength, they had carefully concealed these treasures and adapted themselves to circumstances—they now considered the circumstances altered and they were still possessed of their means of attack or defence, as the case might be. By this time their awe of our strength, our troops and the unknown had worn off; they had grown accustomed to our presence, they knew our habits and they had tried to watch our drill and more especially they had made every endeavour to discover how we handled our guns.

Was it likely that their large numbers, provided with the necessary means of warfare, should tamely submit to a comparatively small force? They thought not; the opportunity now offered by the Netherlands troops being dispersed and having a broken line of communication was favorable to the scheme proposed by the poenggawas to the prince who readily fell in with it.

In fear and trembling he had acceded to all our demands on our arrival; he saw however that no harm towards his person was imminent, that the throne was secured to his dynasty, therefore he too began to be less afraid.

We had however touched his weak spot in forcing him to part with his money; he had spent his life in accumulating and hording it up and now he saw his treasure diminish little by little: on the 20th Augustly fls. 200,000, on the 22nd August by fls. 250,000 and there was more to be paid still!

The temptation to resist our demands was too great both for the prince and the notables.

Ought we not to have been informed of this new current of feeling by our spies?

Had we not, from the time that Djilantik had thrown in his lot with ours, seen most things through his eyes? His officiousness and his assistance, which had rendered him almost indispensable, were quite sincere as long as there was a reasonable prospect of his deriving some advantage from our friendship, but when he found himself completely

ignored in the new contract and was told unceremoniously that he and his troops could go home, without any sort of acknowledgement of his services, we think that a strong temptation to revenge himself must have presented itself to him. He must have hesitated long before deciding, for he really loved General van Ham and it pained him to think that he too would have to be punished with the others; he struggled desperately within himself during the days previous to the attack and endeavoured to obtain forgetfulness by means of opium, which he consumed immoderately.

The day was fast approaching when the expedition would have accomplished its mission; they are only waiting for the last instalment of the war expenses and for the signatures to the treaty. A few of the troops would stay on the island to ensure the carrying out of certain conditions and improvements, but the main body would return to Java shortly and were looking forward to a joyful meeting with friends after such a magnificent success, attained without the loss of one drop of blood.

"But coming events cast their shadows before," and in this instance the shadows began to assume tangible proportions.

The women and children no longer visited the bazaars (markets) as they had been accustomed to do; the chiefs were less submissive and the order to bring 70 picols to Ampenam to transport supplies to the column at Sukarara was neglected. A sort of passive opposition was shown in not removing the Karangassim troops at once from their outposts on the Sassak frontiers; and even when they finally assembled at Tjakra Nagara on the 23rd August fresh motives were put forward to delay their embarcation for Bali.

On two occasions the indemnity money was overdue when brought and on another delay was asked for on the plea that there was no more money available; finally the day before the attack a small instalment of fls. 25.000 was offered, but of course could not be accepted.

Oddly enough too, when some few details had to be settled about the taxes and the vassal duties, both Anak Agong k'Toet and Gusti Djilantik were too ill to be present.

All that the doctor, sent by the Commander-in-chief to visit Djilantik, could discover, was that he was in a state of stupor produced by opium; the prescribed remedies were however not applied and next day another medical man was deputed to enquire into the matter. His visit was less successful, he waited for two hours but was refused admittance to the patient's room.

What was the meaning of this sudden change in Gusti Djilantik?

Although the Commander-in-chief apprehended no serious trouble, he thought it necessary to accquaint the Governor-General with the altered attitude of poenggawas and people. On that same evening, the 24th August, General Vetter gave special injunctions to Captain Kamerman, the Commandant of the two companies (2nd comp. Amboynese and 4th comp. Europeans) left in the bivouac to keep a good watch.

Fortunately the night passed by without disturbance; we say fortunately, for the Balinese had certainly intended it to be otherwise.

Next day, the 25th, a further sum of fls. 250.000 was brought and whilst 10 Amboynese soldiers, under supervision of Captain Manders of the artillery, were counting the coins and testing them, a Balinese, hidden behind a wall, threw a bottle at them; he was seized and carried to Ampenam in chains. The incident was ended but it was another discordant note in the harmony that had been existing.

Between 5 and 6 p.m. Captain Schmidhamer came riding from Ampenam to ask for an interview with the Commander-in-chief; he was the bearer of an ominous report; the truth of which he could not vouch for, but he had been informed by the Klian, Amah Amat of Sukaradja, a Sassak kampong in the vicinity of Ampenam, that the Balinese contemplated attacking the bivouack at Tjakra Nagara that night. The assault had been planned for the night before, but deferred owing to the wife of one of the chief leaders, having died, which was looked upon as a bad omen.

For once we may feel grateful to Balinese superstition, which saved us from worse calamities than even those we have had to deplore.

On receipt of this news the Commander-in-chief lost no time in sending the Resident and General van Ham to Djilantik to ask point blank what he knew of the plan. Captain Kamerman received immediate orders to prepare to leave Tjakra with his men and baggage and withdraw to Mataram; the transport waggons were however with the detached columns. The Resident and the General returned from their visit to Djilantik, who had sworn he knew nothing of an attack and that there was no plot against us; thereupon they were despatched to the crown prince, with strict instructions not to allow themselves to be put off with any plea of sickness, but they were doomed to disappointment, for his Highness was ill and remained ill and they were unable to obtain an interview.

A conference was now held by the Commander-in-chief, the Second-in-command and the Resident; the two latter discredited the rumour and pointed out what a ridiculours figure we should cut in the eyes of the Balinese if we were to take any retrograde step on the strength of it. It was deemed advisable to wait until the following day before finally deciding upon an action savouring of retreat,—instead of this, the bivouac was strengthened by a company, the 3rd of the 7th battalion and a section of the field-artillery, summoned from Mataram by the Commander-in-chief. The two field pieces were so located in the projecting portion of the open space as to command the road both in an Easterly and in a Westerly direction and were loaded with shrapnel; the situation of the guns was early explained to the troops coming from Mataram to prevent any danger to them in case of an "alarm."

For prudence 'sake the last portion of the war indemnity received that morning was transferred to the bivouac at Mataram, while orders were given for the headquarters to be henceforward in the bivouac with

the troops at Tjakra, which arrangement was opposed by general Van Ham who retained implicit belief in Djilantik's assurance of good faith. The Commander-in-chief, taking a less optimistic view of the case, agreed that if any thing happened to his soldiers, it was his duty to be with them and not separated from them. The offices of the General Staff and the field telegraph were vacated; the orderlies, clerks and servants packed up their things....

Written orders were despatched to the columns at Batu Klian and Sukarara to return at once, taking additional precaution. Finally a letter was written to K'Toet, informing him of the current rumour and requesting an explanation of it if true; but if unfounded he was exhorted to use his authority to discover those who had circulated it and punish them. It took a couple of hours to write this letter, the original having to be translated first into Malay, then into Balinese; it was 8.30 p.m. when it was handed to K'Toet's son at the poeri.

At 8 p.m. the Commander-in-chief took supper with his staff in the small poeri and about nine he strolled leisurely to his new quarters in the bivouac; everything was quiet here and though stricter precautions had been taken no serious danger was anticipated.

The officers walked up and down chatting, General Van Ham remarking to captain Kamerman: "You will see, nothing will happen!" later they played cards, the second-in-command taking a hand. At 11 p.m. General Vetter retired to rest! Calm and repose are no doubt admirable qualities, but we think that, in face of all the circumstances we have detailed, especially the altered behaviour of Djilantik, a little more activity would not have been out of place.

Was any real plan of defence prepared in case of an attack? could it honestly and conscientiously be said: "we have done our duty; we are ready; let the enemy come if he dare!" We hardly think so, or surely they would never have persisted in occupying such an unfavourable position.

It was of course too late to have retreated to Mataram as first suggested by General Vetter and General Van Ham was quite correct in pointing out what a sorry figure we should cut by retreating if the rumour proved unfounded. This argument ought not to have hindered our taking up a more advantageous position at Tjakra; reasons of courtesy should no longer have stood in the way of our occupying the two squares of the Dewa temple; the troops coming from Mataram should have brought further food supplies and drinking water should have been provided; and finally we should have insisted upon our ally Gusti Djilantik sharing our bivouac for reasons of his personal safety!

Had such a proposal been made to him, he would have been bound to choose one way or other and a more correct conclusion might have been drawn from his actions than from his utterances.

The question remains, did the Commander-in-chief believe in the rumour or did he not?....

That he did not entirely cast it aside like General Van Ham is

apparent from the measures he took; consequently we are at a loss to understand why he returned to the small poeri with his staff for supper after dusk. By this time the Balinese must have noticed that we were warned and might they under the circumstances not have struck the first blow rather before the appointed time, to prevent our taking any more precautions and thereby entirely frustrate their plans?

The return to the poeri proves great personal courage and coolness, but the risk was too great and it is only owing to the most inexplicable neglect on the part of the Balinese that a decisive blow was not struck.

## VI.

## THE ATTACK.

The stillness of the night was undisturbed; there was no warning note to advise us of the black betrayal that was being planned and plotted behind the walls that encircled the bivouac; no kindly moon lighted up the firmament; it was one of those dark black nights peculiar to the tropics! only here and there a solitary field lantern, throwing a faint glimmer in the immediate neighbourhood.

Suddenly a shot was heard at a quarter past eleven coming from behind the walls of the artillery stables; it was followed by others in quick succession proceeding from Westerly and South Westerly directions; these first discharges were not without fatal result, for one of the subordinate officers was mortally wounded.

The officers were on their feet at once, the alarm signal given and every man stood armed at his post; the East flank (of the projecting division of the open bivouac) was occupied by the 4th company of Europeans under captain Kamerman; the North West and South sides by the 2th company Amboynese, captain Fuhrhop of the 6th battalion and the 3rd company Madurese, captain Matthes of the 7th battalion. Two sections of the latter companies were held in reserve. *

We returned the enemy's fire with all our might and main, but it was growing rapidly more and more furious; in the midst of the turmoil sounds of martial music reached us from the kampong and the poeri; the enemy beat their drums vigorously and the intervals were filled up up by the most hideous war cries; the noise drew nearer and approached the bivouac from the West. The advancing natives were greeted with a couple of vollies from the infantry and a discharge from the guns nearest them; this unexpected reception called forth shrieks and yells of disappointment and.... the enemy receded. An hour later a new attempt was made to assault the bivouac on the East side, but here too the welcome accorded them forced them to retire. This second defeat caused the Balinese to alter their tactics, they no longer attacked us in the open but continued their fire on our unprotected troops from behind the walls, which alas! proved more effective; the number of

* Owing to the men being absent with the columns in the interior, the sections were only about 30 men strong. The force at Tjakra consisted of about 400 men.

dead and wounded was rapidly increasing; after shooting down the horses in their stables, they concentrated their attention on the men. Single marksmen kept up an incessant fire from the west angle of the large poeri and many of our artillery were hit, especially in the legs; the Balinese were largely provided with repeaters, thus being enabled to fire several shots consecutively without loss of time.

The surgeon, Janssen, soon had his hands more than full.

We will quote an account of these events from an eye witness:

"I helped in so far as I could," says Rogge, "to dress and wash their wounds with the little drinking water we had left. The large tent where we had but recently dined was soon filled with wounded; unfortunately our lanterns served as targets for the enemy's bullets and more than one whizzed close to my head whilst I was reaching water out of the pails. I looked into the dome pavilion at intervals, where I found a few of the General Staff silently awaiting the course of events; unexpectedly a volley of shots was fired from a sentry-box situated exactly opposite to us and unfortunately they were aimed very straight, but they were replied to by a volley from a section of soldiers stationed in kneeling posture in front of the tent. The noise was deafening, it was as if all the furies of hell had been let loose...."

The Commander-in-chief began to feel alarm lest we should consume too much ammunition and sent repeated messages by his aide-de-camp, lieutenant Kotting and lieutenant de Greve enjoining us to be as sparing as possible. The Balinese made several attempts to fire more into the centre of the bivouac, by placing high ladders against the inner walls of the poeri enclosure and shooting over them; our heavy guns proved too much for them and no longer venturing to show their heads above the walls, they fired at random and too quickly to work much damage, eventually ceasing altogether.

A new danger soon threatened us; we could hear distinct hammering and knocking against the walls, the meaning of which was very apparent; the enemy was boring loop-holes through which to direct their fire, they themselves being completely protected. In vain the artillery tried to blow up the walls; they were too solid, besides the darkness prevented the result from being visible. The only thing we could see were sparks of fire flying here, there and everywhere; the roar of the guns was deafening and bullets were falling around us fast and quick; to the right, to the left, in front, behind and everywhere, causing many a poor fellow to stagger; added to all this was the ear-splitting sound of the tom-tom as an accompaniment to the hammering and boring of the walls.

The convicts whose quarters were located against the high poeri wall were suddenly seized with a panic, and under the impression that the enemy was pushing through the wall, they made a sudden rush for the opposite side of the bivouac; the troops thinking it was the enemy opened fire on them at once and many were seriously wounded. The situation was going from bad to worse:

"Whilst I was discussing it with General van Ham—says Rogge—a bullet killed a sergeant passing near us and a soldier who was wounded in the chest handed me his gun, which I was bound to drop as the barrel was so hot. No portion of the lower division of the bivouac was safe and the position was growing quite untenable, the number of wounded being so great that all the huts were full; by this time there were 12 killed and 87 wounded. We kept casting anxious looks towards the sky and calculating how long it would be before the moon rose and we should be able to verify the exact state of our affairs; we hoped the Balinese would cease fighting soon, as General van Ham, optimistic to the end, expected they would, or perhaps the troops from Mataram would come to our assistance before long. I was wondering what had become of the three Sassak chiefs with their followers and whether they had known of the intended attack, but I never discovered what happened to them." (They fled at the first shot; Mami Moesti Hadji wandered about all night and finally joined van Lawick's column; the other two returned to their villages.) "Meanwhile the troops continued in excellent spirits; I never heard a complaint, every man stuck to his post and did his duty. The claims upon Dr. Janssen's help were incessant; he was indefatigable in his work, never sparing himself, but cheerfully assisting all who needed his services; I was not the only person who watch ed him that night with admiration."

The moon rose at half past two, but those who anticipated any improvement from the fact were doomed to bitter disappointment; the firing, the shouts in the poeri, the beating of the drum, the hammering, everything went on as before and on our side more wounded were carried in to the huts. At 4 a.m. Captain Tuhrhop was wounded and had to be replaced at the most exposed point on the westerly flank by Captain Kamerman; two sections had occupied this post but had dwindled down to one and when the sun rose two hours later we discovered that out of this remaining force eleven more were incapacitated.

About this time the efforts of the enemy had been crowned with success, they had bored a hole through the wall and were able to fire with comparative impunity, this triumph was a short lived one, for a shell from our artillery had filled the breach.

At last daylight appeared and who can describe the picture of human misery and suffering within that limited space?

"It was heart-breaking," says Rogge, "to see the wounded men lying about on the field and I tried to speak words of comfort and encouragement to them.

"No pen can write what I witnessed. There were men in the prime of life lying motionless, shot through the head, the breast, the arms or the legs; others were struggling with death and praying God for deliverance; some begged of us to say good-bye for them to their friends and relations.

"Whilst I was talking to one of the wounded, a soldier was struck in the head by a bullet and fell dead at my feet.

"I and others were then cautioned not to remain exposed to the murderous fire any longer; the General staff and many others had withdrawn to the square within the high walls."

The enemy baffled at one point had bored several other loop-holes and now in full daylight their aim would be more deadly; they were firing from behind good cover straight into our exposed ranks and we were powerless: further resistance was out of the question.

The Commander-in-chief discussed with General van Ham the advisability of blowing up the poeri gate and then storming the poeri itself.... but nothing was known of the enemy's strength within those walls and it would have been too bold a step to venture upon with such a very limited force, some of whom would necessarily be left behind to guard the wounded and the bivouac.

After further deliberation it was decided to transfer the entire bivouac to the enclosure of the actual Dewa-temple and by 7 a.m. this was accomplished. There was comparative safety between the high walls as long as the assailants placed no high ladders against them and fired into our midst; to forestall this some breaches were made and we placed ladders on our side of the walls; the enemy made no attempt to leave the position they occupied; only a couple of champions passed along the road executing a native dance and were immediately shot down by Kamerman's company.

The hours went by drearily enough and there was a general sort of respite, the men stood or lay speechless beside one another; tired and exhausted many sought repose beneath the sheds; General van Ham lay down on a heap of dry leaves to rest, alas, for the last time! This state of things could not be endured for long; there was nothing to eat or drink and all attempts to dig a well in the temple had proved abortive; there was only enough water, carried from the open bivouac, to make tea for the men once. The ammunition of the combatants was exhausted and the soldiers had used up a large supply of cartridges. The Commanders now discussed the next move and whether they were to decide upon waiting for the arrival of the columns from the interior one of which was expected that afternoon, the other the following day.

This is what had been intended when they withdrew to the Dewa inclosure, but they had hoped for assistance from Mataram, where they had heard some firing in the early morning which had since ceased. All the messages sent to Mataram remained unanswered..... as the chance of help from that quarter grew fainter they began to realize more vividly the terrible pass they were in, especially when they felt their inability to help the detached columns as defenceless as themselves; the Commander-in-chief resolved that if no help had reached them by 3 p.m. he would retreat to Mataram.

Efforts were now made to inform the columns of the departure from Tjakra Nagara and to send instructions to van Lawick to retreat to the East coast and to van Bijlevelt to lead his men direct to Ampenan, avoiding Tjakra and Mataram. Although remittance of their sentence

was promised to convicts who would carry the orders, not one was found to undertake the task. At 1 p.m. the Commander-in-chief summoned the officers and told them of his decision to start for Mataram at 3 p.m.

To avoid the main road whose walls were perforated with loop-holes, they were to try and reach a street at the S.W. angle of their former bivouac and running parallel with the high road.

In the interval a deep grave had been dug in the square of the Dewa temple and 16 men were laid to rest; it was a touching ceremony to see the dead bodies borne past one by one, each receiving a last military salute from officers and men; when the last one was laid beside his comrades, many approached the still open grave to bid good-bye to the brave fellows they were leaving behind, little thinking how soon their own turn would come. Their troubles were only beginning and the worst were yet before them.

The most seriously wounded—those who could not walk—about 40 in number, were placed in "tandoes" (stretchers) made of quilts and their rifles were fastened to the poles. The officers carried the rifles of the dead men and the locks were taken off those they had to leave behind; each one was entrusted with some of the money in the military chest.

The retreat was led by the 2nd lieutenant, Valkenburg, commanding (the captain and the 1st lieutenant were wounded) the second company of the 6th battalion Amboynese and this advance column included Wunnisk, carrying the colours, the Commander-in-chief, the Resident, captain Manders and lieutenant Kotting and de Greve; then came the two fieldpieces, drawn by a single team and followed by the third company of the 7th battalion Madurese with the stretchers, while captain Kamerman with the 4th company of the 6th battalion Europeans covered the retreat and General van Ham and the Chief of the Staff were with this portion of the force.

They had hardly left the bivouac when the foremost division was greeted with an almost overwhelming fire, which caused the Amboynese, though firing, to advance at such a rapid pace that those in the rear could not keep up with them. The Commander-in-chief despatched captain Manders and lieutenant de Greve forward to give orders to "halt," the deafening sounds making it however impossible for the command to be heard. Just at the corner of the street they were brought to a standstill and the remainder of the troops caught them up; it was a fatal spot for many; bullets were being fired from loop-holes in every direction. It was here that the Commander-in-chief lost his brave aide-de-camp, lieutenant Kotting; after being shot in the leg he was placed in a tandoe, but a second bullet in the head killed him and they were obliged to leave his body behind.

Finally the artillery came up and they could resume the advance; the Commander-in-chief issued an order to burn the straw on the walls as they marched past and thus drive away the foe fighting under their cover;

General Vetter's retreat.

connection was again lost, the number of casualties was increasing, the horses were driven frantic with the firing, the stretchers with the wounded were out of sight and the rear guard was nowhere to be seen!

Once more the Commander-in-chief succeeded in staying the progress of the advanced guard; a section of infantry was ordered to go back and re-form the line of communication, but it was a fruitless attempt.

To tarry at this juncture was certain death; Jhr. Alting von Geusau, in command of the 3rd section of Madurese fell not very far from where Kotting lay and lieutenant Boerma of the artillery was shot in the leg and was placed in a stretcher, but the carriers were both fired at and he himself had a narrow escape the second time; several other carriers were killed and many soldiers wounded but the Commander-in-chief appeared invulnerable. The situation was now clear to all: they were effectually cut off from the rear, their only chance of salvation lay in front of them and without waiting for the word of command they dashed forward for dear life; the dead were left on the guns. They marched onward under the unceasing fire of the enemy; here and there they succeeded in knocking down pieces of wall and driving away those sheltered behind it; in crossing a slokan (small river) they were nearly forced to leave the cannons behind, the horses could not pull them along; lieutenant de Greve came to the rescue with a few of his men, and got them safely over. Having surmounted this difficulty they were face to face with another: beneath the annihilating fire of the Balinese they had to demolish an earthwork thrown across their path to prevent their reaching the high road from Tjakra Nagara to Mataram. Just on their arrival on the main road, the troops were met with such heavy fire, that the horses bolted straight for the old bivouac at Mataram, dragging with them gun carriages and guns; the wounded were only saved by slipping off, for within very few minutes the horses were in the enemy's hands in the sawah bivouac, which to our consternation we discovered to be no longer occupied by our troops.

Meanwhile signals from the Dewa-temple advised us of the retreat of the 7th Battalion; pursued by the enemy's fire the Commander-in-chief with his few followers found a refuge there at about 5 p.m.

What had happened in the interval to those cut off from the main body?

The task of Captain Kamerman commanding the rear guard was no easy one; it was slow work carrying the wounded through the narrow doorway separating the higher from the lower bivouac and the foe concentrated their fire on this passage with fatal results to many, amongst whom was General van Ham. The Chief of the Staff seeing the utter impossibility of sending any more stretchers forward gave the order to return within the temple precincts; but instructed Lieutenant Hardie to go with his section and carry back to the temple the wounded who were on the road. The first person he saw was lieutenant von Geusau and proceeded to bind his artery; whilst thus occupied von Geusau received another bullet in the breast and his sufferings were over.

In a quarter of an hour's time Captain Kamerman renewed his attempt to advance; such a heavy shower of fire was poured upon them, that in spite of his desire to join the first division, Major Hamerster ordered him once again to return.

It was clear they were cut off from the Commander-in-chief and they now found themselves only three sections strong and 40 wounded, surrounded by hundreds of enemies and with no provisions to speak of.

The 4th section under lieutenant Hardie had caught up with the advance and with the wounded General van Ham had joined the Commander-in-chief at the Mataram Dewa-temple. As the second in command was about to pass through the narrow doorway, he remarked: "a few greetings are bound to be exchanged!" and five minutes later he was fatally wounded in the chest and in the leg; the heavily built man was laid in a stretcher and after enquiring where he was hurt he never spoke again; two fusiliers with praiseworthy disregard for their own safety succeeded in carrying him to the dewa-temple where he expired shortly after his arrival, but sustained by the rites and last sacraments of his Church, for the General was a Catholic. Thus fell a brave soldier and a righteous man, whose mind was too noble to suspect evil of his neighbour, even when that neighbour was a native. In him we lost a courageous leader and a general genuinely beloved and respected by his men and by all who came into contact with him.

Let us see what had occurred to cause the evacuation of the bivouac in the rice field and the occupation of the Dewa-temple by the 7th battalion.

On the night of 25—26 August they at once turned out when they heard the firing at Tjakra Nagara; the 1st company on the high road, the 2nd on the East and the 4th on the West side. The night having passed by without further disturbance Major von Blommestein commandant of the bivouac, ordered Captain Jonker with his company—the 4th—to make a reconnoisance in the direction of Tjakra at daybreak.

The company marched out of the bivouac and were about to form into a square when they were unexpectedly fired upon from the Eastern front of Mataram and in a minute's time three men were killed and four dangerously wounded; while replying to the enemy's fire they withdrew into the bivouac which now became the object of the assailants, who a couple of hours later were supported by their forces firing from the West front of Tjakra.

As will be remembered it was about this time that there was a lull for the troops at Tjakra, so it is evident the Balinese were now directing all their strength against the bivouac of the 7th battalion.

In a very short time there were 7 killed and 17 wounded and fears were entertained lest the sheds roofed with bamboo and paddy straw should soon be set on fire.

A council of war is held at 2.30 p.m. wherein it was decided to retreat to the Dewa-temple, 600 mètres South East of the present position and the plan was carried out an hour later under cover of the 4th company stationed South of the high road and of 20 volunteers, who, headed by

lieutenant Fransen of this company, effected a diversion. Through a breach made in the walls of Mataram by the artillery this small force furiously attacked the enemy, forced them to retreat to some distance and kept their attention fully occupied until all the wounded had been transferred to the temple but four of these brave soldiers paid for their courage with their lives. All the provisions, material, and even the military chest had been left behind in this precipitate retreat and only one of the two fieldpieces was saved, and this had been accomplished by the gunners themselves; the other, to which the horses were attached with difficulty, was lost, the horses terrified by the firing, having bolted with it towards Tjakra Nagara.

One of the last to reach the temple was the Reverend Father Vogel, the Catholic priest, who under the heaviest fire had faithfully assisted both dying and wounded, of whatever faith or country.

Once inside the Dewa-temple the first thing was to bore loop-holes in the walls and prepare for defence as well as possible under the circumstances and it was at this juncture in their affairs that General Vetter and his detachment found shelter there.

It is now time to see how the columns sent to the interior fared during these hostilities. As was usual, van Bijlevelt had been out on a day's march from Sukarara and the evening (the25th August was a Saturday) was spent more cheerily than usual, an extra bottle of wine and cards being thoroughly enjoyed, as all were looking forward to their first day of rest on the Sunday. At half past eleven all retired to their simple couches of bamboo, covered with imitation leather and a blanket. They were roused at 1.15 a.m. by the arrival of the spy bringing the orders of the Commander-in-chief to retreat at once to Mataram; these were the instructions sent on receiving information of the attack from captain Schmidhamer.

Further sleep was out of the questions and all were lost in conjectures concerning the reasons for this order; at an early hour the bivouac was broken up and an inventory taken of a six day's food supply brought in the previous day and now entrusted to the care of a Sassak chief—Gura Bangkol—for storage in his kampong at Praja, distant an hour and a half.

The retreat started at 9 a. m.; but it was 1 p. m. when Kediri was reached; the men were tired out from the marches of the previous days and advancing equipped for defence was a farther source of fatigue and loss of time. On leaving the kampong sounds of firing at Tjakra were distinctly audible and in reply to our questions all sorts of confused answers were given by the Sassaks on the road; we were informed that fighting had been going on both at Mataram and Tjakra Nagara since the previous night, that our side had sustained many losses in killed and wounded but had occupied the poeri at Tjakra, etc.

On hearing this the Commander of the column decided to make straight for this point to relieve his comrades.

At 2 p.m. the column was within a couple of hundred mètres of the S. Babak (river) they were marching along a narrow kampong track,—through the dessa of Glogor—hemmed in on the one side by an impenetrable thickset hedge, on the other by a deep ravine; in front, on the left, stood a "missigit" (a mosque). Suddenly the enemy opened fire in the front, in the rear, on either side of this serried mass of men and Major van Bijlevelt, the commander, was the first to be wounded and the command was taken over by Captain Creutz Lechleitner, who immediately ordered the storming of the missigit whence the fire was the heaviest.

As soon as the wall dividing it from the road had been demolished by the engineers, lieutenants van Kappen and Musquetier entered with the Europeans and took up position with their revolvers under two windows of the missigit; just as Musquetier was pursuing the enemy into closer quarters he was suddenly killed by a bullet piercing his heart. Meanwhile the artillery had taken up their position and driven back the enemy on the right of the kampong, so that after ten minutes the advance resumed. It was a difficult matter to cross a river sixty metres wide and every man up to his waist in water; the gun carriages were dragged under the water and the guns placed on the mules' backs, but immediately replaced on the carriages on the opposite bank. The enemy still continued to take advantage of their protected positions to render the retreat as difficult as possible; the march continued through narrow roads bordered on either side by thickset hedges, behind which the clay and stone houses served as so many points of attack; before entering each kampong it was subjected to artillery-fire. The entire march was made amid alternate offensive and defensive operations; sometimes the houses and homesteads where the firing seemed most determined were stormed and the enemy fell back, but no sooner, had the besieging detachment joined the main division than the hostile attacks were renewed. After crossing sundry other small rivers the kampong of Laboe Api and with it the open rice plantations S. of Tjakra Nagara were reached and here again the column was informed by Sassaks that our troops occupied the poeri there. From this point to Tjakra proper there was a cessation of the firing; only here and there a few Balinese might be seen taking flight to their kampongs. At 5 p. m. they were at the South entrance to Tjakra and entertained no doubts about finding the remaining companies of the 6th batailion, but to make quite certain the trumpeters signalled "6th battalion." There was no answer; everything was still, still as death and no living being was visible; they caught sight of a woman running away behind one of the first houses on the left. On a table in the middle of the road were some cans of water which no one touched for fear of poison.

In spite of this somewhat lugubrious reception they entered the town triumphantly to the sound of drum and bugle; as soon as the whole column had passed the gates the storm burst all round them; a double row of loop-holes, some breast high, others at the height of the knee, were made all along the walls and the bullets poured on to the men

from over the walls and through them, behind them, in front of them.

Orders were given to "halt", the guns were formed in battery against the walls—within a few steps of one another; the walls here were not so substantial and easily gave way; the enemy was driven from wall to wall and the pieces were pushed forward and placed in new positions. Slow but steady progress was made; the dead had to be left behind but all the wounded were carried in tandoes and where these failed were either supported along by the soldiers, or if necessary, carried on their backs; the artillery fortunately sustained no losses here, though the lion's share of the work devolved upon them and the Balinese directed their fire continuously on them when they realized they were doing them so much damage. After taking two hours to accomplish a distance usually occupying from twelve to fifteen minutes, they arrived within 400 mètres South of the poeri and as it was evident there were no troops here, they proceeded straight to Mataram.

In spite of the fast increasing darkness the Balinese kept us busy replying to their attacks, but the troops marched in perfect order and discipline, displaying magnificent training, both morally and physically. The infantry now had to continue the defence, it being too dark for the artillery; at about 8 p.m. they arrived at the old sawah bivouac, but instead of friends, they were once again met by foes. After a few anxious moments they heard the signal of the 6th battalion coming from the neighbouring Dewa-temple! Here they were received with joy and amazement at their plucky retreat; they had had 16 men killed, amongst whom Musquetier whose body they had carried with them and there were 35 wounded; they had also saved all their guns, weapons, ammunition, etc. which was indeed a feat to be proud of, considering all the obstacles met with from beginning to end.

We will now quote from Rogge for further information regarding the troops assembled in the temple.

"Now we found ourselves cooped up in the Dewa-temple, surrounded and threatened on all sides by bloodthirsty enemies. Our men had bored holes in the outer walls, their guns were placed in them ready to be fired at the word of command.

"A sentinel was placed in a tall tree in the first enclosure and was constantly replaced to ensure accurate and continuous knowledge of the enemy's movements.

"The killed and wounded were laid in the second enclosure, while the General Staff and many officers, tired and exhausted, were standing or lying close together on the ground in the first. No wonder that many felt disheartened at this depressing sight and no one expected to leave this refuge alive.

"It caused me no small astonishment to behold General Vetter reclining in an easy chair in the first enclosure and settling himself down for a nap after his cigar, which he had smoked as calmly and deliberately as if he were at home. The Resident was lying on the

ground not far from him, with his head partially resting against my legs and I myself was wedged in between two men, one of whom had fallen fast asleep where he stood.

"We were all suffering agonies from thirst, the only water obtainable in the temple being almost too muddy to drink, besides which it was impossible to move through the closely packed troops.

"To remain in this situation could not be thought of; there was no food at all and we were running short of ammunition, having left every thing behind in our flight, as the 7th batt. had been compelled to do when deserting the bivouac at Mataram, where even the last consignment of the war indemnity, taken there for safety on the previous night, fell into the enemy's hands. Great praise is therefore due to the officers of the 6th battalion who though in danger of their lives divided the contents of the military chest, each one carrying in his pockets all he could. The fieldpieces, with the exception of one, which was however left behind next day, were in the hands of the enemy, as well as the ammunition and all our property. My pocket handkerchief was all I owned and still did good service in binding up the wounds of one of the soldiers.

"A council was held at which it was decided to push across the sawahs to Ampenan next morning, the retreat to be led by Major Rost van Tonningen.

"A short interval of respite was given us and only a stray bullet was fired from time to time.

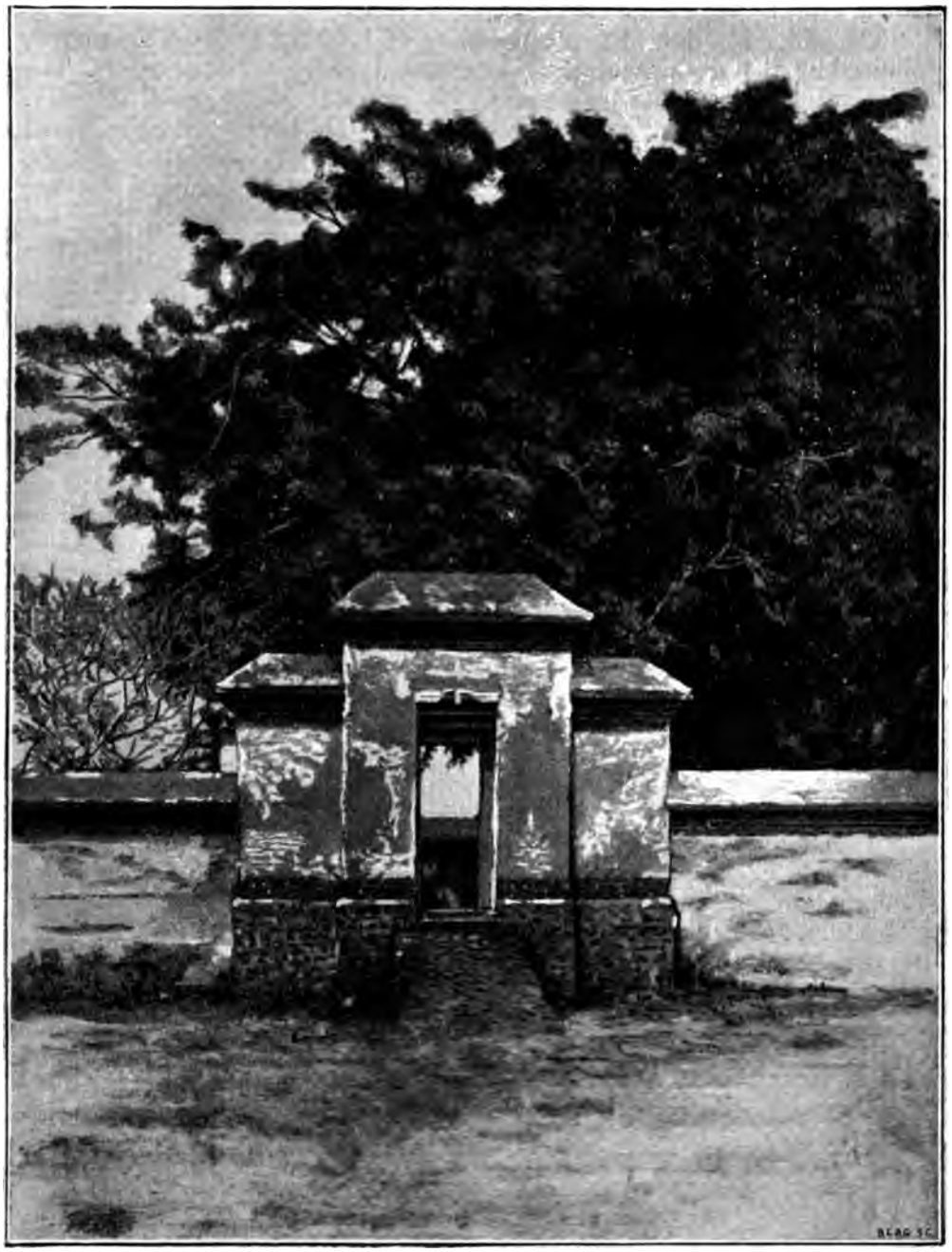
"As it grew darker we could distinguish sounds of firing come from Tjakra; at first they were very faint, but as they came nearer and grew louder we concluded that van Bijlevelt's column was advancing towards Mataram and we were right in our surmises, they joined us shortly after 1p.m. . . . ." We have already described their march. . . .

"It was a difficult task to find sheltered places for the newly-arrived "tandoes" with the wounded, for no lights were allowed and as little noise as possible. Had the Balinese attacked us from over the walls on that dark night not one man could have escaped; we were saved from this crushing disaster by their love of plunder and greed. It was far more in keeping with their natural propensities to sack the bivouac than to expose themselves to the perils of a night attack; they must have been amply rewarded for their night's work, becoming possessed as they did of many valuable and curious objects.

"I was told later by an artillery man who had got into the deserted bivouac by mistake and hidden himself beneath some straw, that he heard the Balinese break open chests and carry off the contents.

"Preparations were made for an early retreat next morning, but before starting there remained a sad and painful duty to be performed; during the still of night a grave had been dug in the third enclosure and there we buried the gallant general Van Ham, lieutenant Musquetier and all those who had succumbed to their wounds after reaching the temple."—Those brave men rest beneath the shadow of a giant waringin

tree and we are thankful to say the Balinese have respected this sacred



"Dewa-temple at Mataram; General Van Ham's grave is here."

spot. Close to the tree there now stands a memorial tablet and on its surface are written words of hope and words which tell of wiped-out

shame, of fame and victory, and of a new era in the history of our Indian army!

"The order was issued for a company of infantry to head the march, followed by the stretchers with the wounded under military escort. The entire train was to be covered by a second company of infantry. The appearance of the first soldier leaving the temple was the signal for a new attack, making it clear that an orderly retreat would be impossible. Consequently the mountain artillery under lieutenant Becking came into action against the Balinese and effectively silenced them for some time and the column fell into line; they soon reached the open sawahs and making a long round to avoid the walls of Mataram, went by way of Pasingahan and Sekar Bela and the river Antjar to Ampenan. The enemy continued to hamper the retreat by firing at us from Mataram, Poenia and Pagasangan and now and again a halt was necessary to repulse some who were bold enough to assail us in the open. The country we had to traverse was far from being a well-kept even road; here we were ankle-deep in mud, there we were up to our waists in water; but in spite of all the difficulties our casualties during this six hours' march only amounted to 20 killed and wounded and this excellent result is in a great measure owing to the skilful leadership of Major Rost van Tonningen. We were also much indebted to the services of two Sassaks, whom we met and who guided us along the safest and shortest route to Sekar Bela; undoubtedly these poor people have deserved well of us; it was they who obstinately declined to negotiate with the Balinese rajahs and bound themselves by oath never to submit to their rule again. From their own past experiences they warned the General-Staff not to put faith in the promises and finally they warned us of the impending danger, thus saving the expeditionary land forces from complete extinction.

"The condition of our wounded was most distressing, many having to be carried on quilts fastened to bamboos or guns, the number of tandoes proving insufficient; the discomfort of their cramped positions was added to by the rays of a broiling hot sun and our convicts were not always over gentle or careful in their movements, rendered especially unsteady by the inequalities of the ground. A twenty minutes' halt was thoroughly appreciated, every man sitting or lying in the most comfortable position he could find, but we were all suffering from intense thirst, which led many to drink the muddy sawah water, afterwards productive of so many cases of colic. In spite of all the hardships the soldiers kept in first-rate spirits and I cannot say too much in praise of the excellent good fellowship displayed amongst them towards one another and particularly towards the wounded; after I had sprained my foot I leaned on one of the convicts, but no sooner was this noticed than a couple of our sturdy fellows came forward to support me. I never heard a single word of murmur or complaint and every order was obeyed with the utmost precision and punctuality.

"Finally we heard voices from the front shouting: „We are nearly

there! In the distance we see a white flag and our own beloved tricolor!"

"Never surely in all our lives had we looked upon our country's flag with such sincere feelings of affection and gratitude; it was flying gaily from above the walls of Sekar Bela, promising us freedom and safety; the Sassaks wished to convey to us that we should soon be treading on friendly territory.

"We pushed forward with renewed vigor and hope though still pursued by the enemy's fire from Poenia and to our deep sorrow we suffered losses to the last, amongst the victims being Lieutenant Ter Bruggen Hugenholtz, shot in the leg.

"Once inside the kampong the order to "rest" was given and most gladly did every man seek repose and shelter beneath the shady trees, where the Sassaks brought us rice and cocoa-nut milk; the refreshment was sorely needed and certainly appreciated, this being one of those occasions when "hunger is the best sauce!"

"In a little while we resumed our march along a shady road leading to the beach; here and there we caught sight of a Sassak man or woman watching us with pity and curiosity and in an hour's time we reached Tandjong Karang."

Here we must take leave of Rogge, who was conveyed with the Resident by boat to Ampenan, thence with a number of wounded to Surabaya on the *Maetsuijcker*.

The Commander-in-chief went in a man-of-war pinnace to H. M. St. *Emma*, on which he proceeded to Ampenan. No sooner had the Commander of the Naval forces seen the soldiers approaching the beach, than he despatched medical assistance and the more seriously wounded were placed on the boats and taken to the hospital or to the sick transport ship.

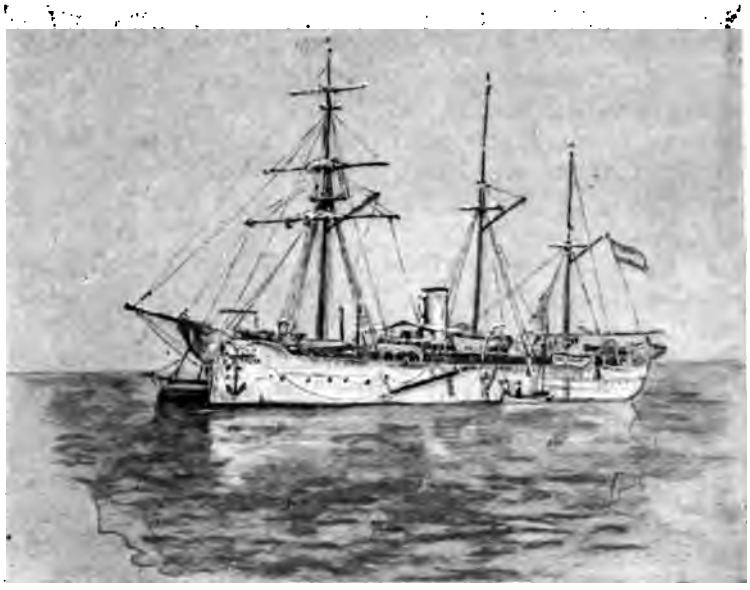
The remainder of the column still had a tedious march before them across the dry sand and the river Antjar before reaching the bivouac at Ampenan. They were met by the column which had been in occupation and who can doubt of the joyfulness of that meeting. After a march of seven and a half hours they reached the bivouac without having allowed a single one of their wounded to fall into the enemy's hands.

We look upon this retreat as another of those wonderful events well worth rescuing from oblivion!

It had been a period of extreme anxiety in the bivouac at Ampenan when they were warned by the firing of 25th—26th August that hostilities had broken out in the interior. After the departure of the 2nd and 4th Companies under Van Lawick, all that remained in this open unfortified bivouac excepting a detachment of cavalry, were the two companies of the 9th battalion, but without a single piece of ordnance and of the naval force, there were only the "*Koningin Emma*" and the "*Prins Hendrik*", for, in consequence of the succesful turn of affairs, the force had been gradually dismissed. The *Cycloop*, the *Sumatra*, the *Tromp*

and the *Borneo* had all in turn left for Surabaya, the three last for repairs and thither too had both despatch boats returned in the middle of August, their services no longer being needed.

The night 25th—26th August had passed by uneventfully at Ampenan; however, next morning the Commander of the Marine, captain H. Quispel of the Navy, judging from the attack at Mataram and Tjakra Nagara that Ampenan's turn would come next, took upon himself to disembark the parties from the *Koningin Emma* and the *Prins Hendrik*; they composed a force of 200 men and four guns and were placed under the command of C. A. Dominicus, Naval Lieutenant of the 1st class, although the commandant of the bivouac at Ampenan was his senior in the service.



The "Prins Hendrik."

They set to work in conjunction with the two infantry companies to throw up breastworks all the way round the bivouac running into sea both North and South and the two warships were stationed at these two points further to protect the bivouac with the ships' guns if occasion demanded it. The naval brigade was first stationed on the high road to Mataram, but later on in the bastions of the new earthworks; the cavalry were sent out to reconnoitre and soon fell in with the enemy in occupation of the main road to Mataram; they withdrew as soon as one of their horses was wounded.... We refrain from remarks for the moment.

In anticipation of an almost immediate attack, it was considered more prudent to abstain from any attempt to open up communications with Mataram; however nothing happened until the morning of the 27th when they received information (brought by convicts) from the Commander-in-chief of his retreat to the Dewa temple and instructions to set out provided with tandoes and ammunition to meet the retreating column pushing forward to Ampenan; as we have seen the order was executed and the troops met South of the river Djangkok.

There was very little rest in the bivouac on the night of 27th --28th

August; after the suspense and horrors of the last two days it is not to be wondered at if nerves were unstrung and a general feeling of apprehension current among the troops; frequently they imagined the enemy was rising up from out of the darkness and the sentries kept up an almost incessant alarm. In the early hours of the night the approach of the 9th battalion was signalled and a portion of van Lawick's column reached the bivouac with many wounded; a little later another portion arrived, but many were still missing for several days.....

On the 26th August van Lawick's column ignorant of the stirring events at Tjakra, went on a long march; the Commandant went that day with the 2nd company—captain Lindgreen's natives—to Swangi not far south of Sakra, to hold a final conference with all the chiefs of the neighbouring kampongs. The following day—Sunday—was to be a day of rest and the return to Ampenan was fixed for the Monday. The chief of the staff of this column, Captain Willemstijn, and Lieutenant van der Plank rode out in the morning to Praga to become better acquainted with the line of communication to Batu Klian; the European company—the 4th, under Captain Christan—had remained behind in the bivouac with the surgeon dr. Ujlaki.

The doctor's services were really not much in demand amongst the troops during the time we were in Lombock, but he was kept extremely busy by the inhabitants. His ambulance was daily besieged by Sassaks coming to ask for remedies for all sorts of diseases, old ulcers on the leg, running sores, neglected skin eruptions and every variety of ailment; the demand for medicines and bandages soon exhausted the available supply, which had to be replenished; the 4 nurses would have been unable to get through their work, had they not been supplemented by volunteers from amongst the ranks.

The presence of the troops had helped to alleviate the sufferings of the Sassaks in other ways too, for, daily, hundreds of half starved natives, who had not seen or tasted rice for months, came to the bivouac with their emaciated and half-famished children, grateful had they only been permitted to eat the crumbs that fell from the soldiers' table. The Commander had rice cooked for them in large kettles and would have had meat cooked also, but they preferred eating it raw, rather than wait! (a fine cow could be bought here for a couple of sovereigns or thereabouts).

The soldiers often shared their meals with these poor people and supplied them with what clothes they could spare.

On his return from the march somewhat later than usual (3.30 p.m.), van Lawick found the letter of instructions from the Commander-in-chief; it had been given a conspicuous place by Captain Willemstijn, who had received it from the Chief of Batu Klian, Raden Ginawan.

Finding he had a little time to spare after his ride to Praja, he returned by way of Surabaya, where he paid a long promised visit to the Chief, who, after a short conversation, handed it to the captain,

saying it had been delivered to him by a Sassak. He furthermore told Willemstijn that war had broken out between the Balinese and the company—but this news the captain refused to believe and as soon as he reached the bivouac he lay down to rest.

No sooner had Major van Lawick mastered the contents of the letter than he roused Captain Willemstijn and after a short consultation it was decided that the column must be in marching order for Ampenan at 5 p. m.

The order was cheerfully received by the men who, notwithstanding the day's fatigue set to work to have everything ready at the appointed hour. Meanwhile the commanding officer assembled his captains and read them the Commander-in-chief's letter; he sent a note to Lieutenant Van der Zwaan of the topographical service, who was absent surveying in the neighbourhood and not expected at Batu Klian until next day, informing him of the altered circumstances, and instructing him to avoid Tjakra but to make for the East coast, where a government steamer should be sent to fetch him. This forethought on the part of the Chief saved the life of this clever young officer and it was acts of this nature which so endeared van Lawick to his men.

They left the bivouac at 5 p. m.; as there were only two invalids to be carried in tandoes, they marched briskly and without interruptions until dusk, when halt was made in the kampong of Surabaya. Before daybreak the Commander was warned of the arrival of Mami Moesti Hadji, one of the three Sassak Chiefs whom he had left with the Commander-in-chief; Mami narrated how he had fled at the first shot, but could not explain the cause of the outburst, beyond the fact that there were many bad people at Narmada who wanted to kill the company. The troops were soon on their feet again and after a short breakfast of bread and coffee they started and at 11 a. m. they reached the river Babak; hardly had the first man got through the brush wood when the enemy opened fire, besides which, preparatory to the arrival of the troops, they had thrown up earthworks and put up a palisade of bamboo and prickly shrubs at the landing place; however breastworks and palisade soon gave way before a couple of salvos from the infantry and the energy of the engineer, who soon cleared the passage, enabling the entire column to land without loss; from this point onward their progress was much slower, for both infantry and artillery had to drive away the enemy whilst advancing and at Narmada the firing increased in intensity and it was here that the column suffered their first loss, a native artillery soldier and a mule being fatally wounded. The artillery brought their battery into position on a height near the river and opened fire on Narmada to cover the passage of the troops and in spite of all the enemy's guns they reached the high road to Tjakra at about 3 p. m.; the fire of the Balinese diminished gradually and ceased entirely as they approached the capital, so they had enjoyed comparative immunity for an hour or two; they were at the entrance gates of the town at half past three, there were no signs of disturbance, the enemy apparently was driven back.

The Commander of the column was so convinced that he was within easy reach of headquarters that he discussed with Dr. Ujlaki, the advisability of requesting the Commander-in-chief to allow the wounded to proceed to Ampenan that evening, as they could be better cared for, even should the remainder of the column be ordered to stay at Tjakra.

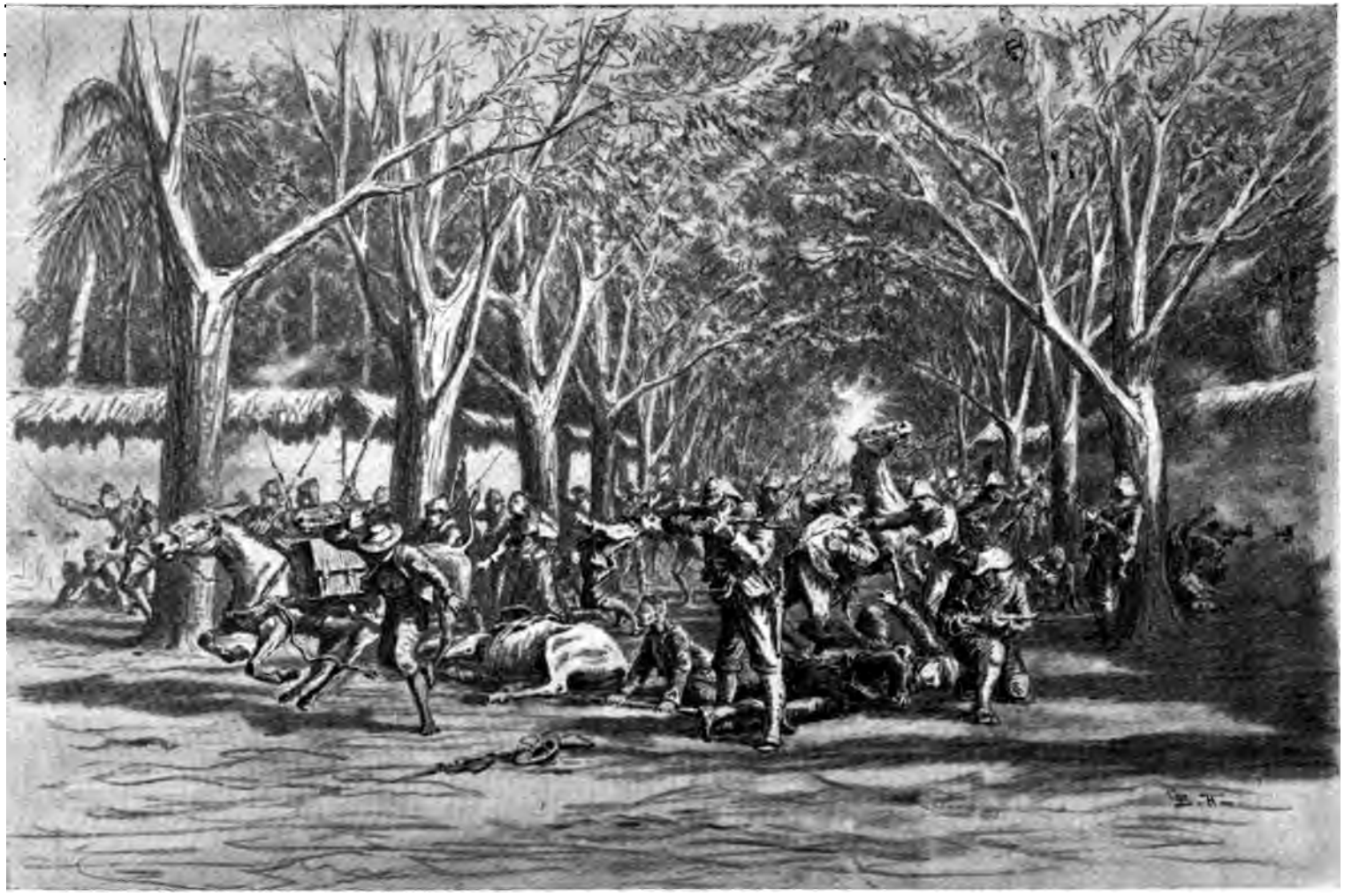
The wide gate (3,5 mètres) had been narrowed by filling up the opening with bamboo, but as this had been done partly when they had passed through before not much was thought about it; the captain of the Staff however drew the Commander's attention to the fact that the entrance had been further narrowed by newly added bamboo and was now reduced to little over 1 mètre; yet the entry was made in good spirits, in the anticipation of soon meeting friends and comrades and enjoying a well-deserved rest after the prolonged march. Not a single Balinese was visible in the street.... but this was not considered as any thing unusual at this hour of day; but it certainly was curious that all the doors leading to the homesteads should be closed, they generally being thrown wide open and no one was at the market, at other times so busy....

The greater part of the column had advanced through the gates and the foremost division had reached the bend in the road, when a shot was fired which was the enemy's signal for a general discharge from every one of their pieces; here too they had loopholes all along the line and through these and from over the walls and from the trees burst forth the murderous fire!

"Forward! Forward! as quick as possible!" ordered the Commander who was at the head of the column, hoping to find a refuge for his men in the old bivouac; he turned round to tell captain Willemstijn to transmit the order and in another minute he lay mortally wounded and the 1st lieutenant Van der Staay met the same fate not many yards off. Captain Willemstijn carried the instructions to the Commander of the guard, but here in the second bend of the road the firing was so severe on all sides that Captain Christan stationed his men in a small deserted Dewa temple on the north side of the road. While this small space afforded a temporary refuge to the vanguard and the two mountain guns with Lieutenant Vis, Captains Willemstijn and Christan under cover of a section of infantry, proceeded to reconnoître in the direction of the cross-roads at Tjakra, but within 5 to 600 mètres of this point they perceived that the bivouac of the 6th battalion was deserted.... True, Kamerman's company was still in the temple and they had heard Van Lawick's advancing column; later on we shall see the reason of their silence.

What was originally the bivouac was now a mass of ruins strewn with dead bodies and dead horses..., what a gruesome sight! what a crushing disappointment! There was not much time for reflection, death was threatening them too from every side; quickly they hastened back to their men in the dewa temple, hoping to be able to restore communication with the main division and the rear-guard.

The horses and mules maddened with the roar of the guns were rushing about wildly, dragging everything along with them in their frantic



Van Lawick's column at Tjakra Negara

efforts to get away from the fire; they got up, stumbled over dead bodies, knocked down the soldiers and added to the universal distraction; it is a terrible, a desperate fight for life! And, drowning the moans and sighs of dying and wounded were heard the war cries of the Balinese, their shouts of exultant joy and the rattling of the guns.

It was impossible to make way through such a scene, so they waited, in hopes that the rear guard would soon join them and shortly a section of infantry under lieutenant Broekman, despatched by Captain Lindgreen, came up and informed them that van Lawick was dead.

The command now passed to Captain Christan; with the help of the two pieces of mountain artillery they kept the enemy at bay for a little but the Balinese succeeded in piercing walls that command those of the Dewa temple and screened by these they fired straight into the midst of the division; the ammunition was getting used up; many were wounded and many were killed; the situation was fast growing unbearable and to wait for Lindgreen and his men any longer would have meant certain death to all assembled there.

Neither a forward nor a backward move was possible; so they decided to move sidewards (to the North) and fight their way through the enemy at the point of the bayonet if needs be and reach the open sawah, where at least they would not have to fight an enemy protected by walls.

The wounded, 28 in number, were carried to the northern exit, and the open sawah was soon reached, notwithstanding the incessant fire; a halt was made and the signal constantly repeated for the "2nd company to assemble" (Lindgreen's), but it was in vain, they received no reply! They dared not wait here any longer and even Lieutenant Broekman was by this time convinced that he could not return to his column and must throw in his lot with Captain Christan.

The retreat now proceeded in good order in a northeast direction across sawahs, ravines and kalis (small rivers); they had only a few cartridges left, still the confidence of the men in their officers continued unabated and where the latter lead the former unhesitatingly followed. Finally they reached the road to Lingsar—and fell in with a crowd of Balinese, who allowed them to proceed on their way unmolested and only one shot was fired. How is this extraordinary behaviour to be accounted for? Were they afraid to meet our troops in the open field? The march was continued Northwards across an extensive sawah and after careful reconnoitring through a bomboo plantation and then again across another sawah; presently considerable astonishment and anxiety are felt at the appearance of several natives waving white flags the meaning of which one is at a loss to understand. All doubts were soon dissipated on discovering that they were held by some friendly Sassaks from a neighbouring kampong, where they provided the men plentifully with water and cocoa nuts; needless to say that this timely hospitality was vastly appreciated by all and the refreshing water was particularly welcome to the poor sufferers in the tandoes. Night had overtaken them and still there was

a long march before them and who could say to what further hostilities they might not be exposed? They gladly accepted the offer of the hadji, the chief of the kampong, to accompany them some little distance, after which he appointed two Sassaks to serve as guides along the dark unknown road. At 8 p. m. they could distinguish the electric search light of the opium cruiser lying in the roadstead of Ampenan; this sight filled the men with fresh energy, although it was two hours longer before they reached the strand, owing to the darkness and the inequalities of the ground. Ignorant of the situation at Ampenan Captain Christan signals "9th battalion, 4th company, the doctor," hoping at the same time to attract the notice of the steamers, in which he is successful, for shortly afterwards a boat from the "Koningin Emma" nears the shores but owing to the roar of the surf they cannot hear what the officer shouts to them. The signal of the 9th battalion was repeated on board the steamers .... had the comrades of the 9th whom they had left at Ampenan embarked? They hardly knew what to expect; after the horrors they had witnessed at Tjakra nothing seemed too bad to anticipate. But no! their signals were also answered from the bivouac, where the exhausted column arrived at about 10 p. m,

Great were the rejoicings at the safe arrival of a portion of van Lawick's column, but a general gloom spread over the bivouac on hearing of the death of the Chief of the column and of their youthful and promising comrades Kalff and van der Staay and so many others. The grief of all was intensified by the painful anxiety concerning the fate of Lindgreen's column .... Captain Christan volunteered to start with fresh troops to relieve him, but the Commander-in-chief considered it would be too reckless ....

Let us see what happened to Lindgreen; the same obstacles which prevented Captain Christan's going back to the column prevented Lindgreen's advancing; he waited where he was for a little, but the men around him were rapidly being decimated and the ambulance was crowded; doctor Ujlaki performed his duties unflinchingly amidst showers of bullets and was ably assisted by nurse Loverinck; the little band under Lieutenant de Graaf covering the ambulance was growing less and less. It was evident that to linger here was certain death for all and Lindgreen gave the order for all to retreat into a small dewa-temple, the doors of which were open; quick as lightning the ambulance and the native soldiers obeyed the order and once again a heathen temple provided asylum to our troops! They were only just in time, for by now the Balinese intoxicated with success were about to hurl themselves bodily against this handful of men and very nearly managed to push forward into the temple with the last of our soldiers.... their reception was not of a nature to encourage the attempt! Thwarted in this they tried to climb the walls but this too they had to give up, for every man whose head appeared was instantly shot down. This temporary security afforded time to review their position; inside the temple are

five officers: the Commandant, Lieutenants de Graaf, de Jong en van der Plank and the medical officer, Doctor Ujlaki; there are 80 soldiers in fighting condition, besides 40 wounded and about 10 convicts. They set to work to put the temple in a state of defence, sentries were posted and the wounded were cared for as well as possible without instruments and bandages, all of which have been lost, while there was not a single drop of water!

The misery of the patients, many of whom were delirious, baffles description.

Unaware of the full extent of our disasters, this little band of men continued to hope for relief and convinced that the Commander-in-chief would send a company to their assistance if he knew their whereabouts, Lindgreen decided to send a small detachment under Lieutenant de Jong to Ampenan to inform him of their position.

Although wounded, de Jong started at daybreak with two non-commissioned officers and twenty-two smart native soldiers. Silently and crawling along they left the temple, but the enemy ever on the look out greeted them in the usual fashion.... De Jong with his small force, unhampered by baggage or wounded boldly proceeded at a swifter pace, only halting at intervals to direct a few bullets towards the foe, keeping them more or less at bay until he reached the northern frontier of Tjakra Nagara. Here they crossed the river which had given Captain Christan's column so much trouble, and advanced 400 mètres across the Sawah without having sustained any actual losses, but now de Jong perceived that his men were thoroughly done up and not a few were wounded; rest was imperative, and he decided to halt behind some ditches until dark. It was 5.30 p. m. and the men threw themselves on the ground while their captain watched over them; leaning his elbows on the ground, resting his head on his hands he glanced across the plain in front of him, thinking the enemy would never dare attack him across it, but nevertheless they did send projectiles towards him and he himself received a bullet through his right arm. He did not on this account relinquish his post, but let a couple of his men reply at intervals, desisting as evening approached, it being essential to be sparing of the ammunition. When it was quite dark he awakened the sleeping men and they continued their march in the still of night.

They had not left their resting place long when they saw a crowd of Balinese approach it.... they were intensely disappointed to find no plunder, nothing remained to show where they had halted but a few drops of blood.

Wild shouts of rage and vexation filled the air and brandishing their torches they started off in pursuit of the detachment, their flaming lights serving as admirable targets for our soldiers. The Balinese soon discovered they were getting the worst of it and returned dejectedly to Tjakra Nagara fearing lest those in the temple, might likewise escape them!

De Jong knew there were still many dangers to be faced before reaching Ampenan; fortunately however the inhabitants of the kampongs

were so occupied in their rejoicings over their recent victories that the troops remained unnoticed; of course they avoided all the beaten tracks which made their progress doubly slow and difficult.

Finally, when their courage was at its lowest ebb and fatigue and loss of blood rendered it almost impossible to advance any further, they heard the rolling of the sea; what glorious music! The shore was close now and with one supreme effort they reached it....

They can already distinguish the lights of Ampenan and the bivouac is not far and presently—it is 5 a. m.—they hear the well-known bugle call.

To make quite sure Lieutenant de Jong advanced with a young sergeant and called to the sentry.... but whether he did not recognize him or did not believe him—we must bear in mind the wrought up feelings prevalent in the entire bivouac—he answered the call by firing and alas! with fatal result, for the poor young sergeant fell lifeless into the arms of his lieutenant at the very moment when he had reached a place of safety! what cruel irony of fate!

"De Jong within sight of Ampenan."

The Commander-in-chief received the heroic little band with delight but a disappointment awaited de Jong; General Vetter refused to send troops into the centre of the enemy's country to rescue the comrades left behind in the Dewa-temple, it would have been too hazardous an undertaking to diminish the strength of the garrison at Ampenan and the young lieutenant had to submit to circumstances. His condition was such as to necessitate his admission to the field hospital and soon after he was sent back to Surabaya to regain his health. Appreciation and gratitude for his pluck were fully testified to by the hearty handshakes of his comrades who saw him off; but nothing touched him so much as the sincere demonstrations of affection and gratitude of the men who had followed him, and looked upon him as having saved their lives.

Before returning to Captain Lindgreen, we will go back to the troops left in the old Dewa-temple, near the former bivouac at Tjakra. Captain Kamerman was here with all his company excepting the section under Hardie, who had followed General van Ham. In addition to the officers of the company, there were the Chief of the Staff, Major Hamerster and Dr. Janssen. There were 40 wounded, 11 dangerously, some servants, a few soldiers' wives, a couple of Balinese belonging to the Resident's suite and 14 convicts. In crossing one of the squares to see that his orders were executed Captain Kamerman was badly shot in the thigh, but was able to resume command when bandaged. They waited patiently a couple of hours and then heard the heavy fire approach the

bivouac and concluded it was Bijleveldt's column; preparations were hastily begun to effect a junction and they signalled to attract attention... Did the advancing column not hear?...

The sounds grew fainter and fainter.... Alas! it was soon manifest from the firing that the column was going westwards!

Their hopes were disappointed! The night was spent very miserably and though there were no complaints, still the men were very depressed and downcast; and no wonder, after the alarming events of the last 24 hours.

If they were protected from the enemy's bullets, there was another enemy that made itself felt in a most painful manner: thirst! True, that in risking one's life and going to a deserted kampong close by, a little salt water and a few cocoa-nuts could be obtained, but this was only a very temporary relief.

They still hoped for deliverance, either from Mataram, or from the column retreating from Batu Klian.

Thus in anxious waiting did the morning and the afternoon of the 27th August go by.

In the afternoon they really heard heavy firing in an Easterly direction. That must be Van Lawick's column. Joyful expectation filled the hearts of all!

They could discern by the movements of the horses that misfortune had overtaken the column; by signalling it would have been easy to notify their presence in the Dewa temple for as we have seen Captains Christan and Willemstijn were not far off—but Major Hamerster taking into consideration the fact that to reach him would have necessitated the column's passing the poeri and exposing itself to a murderous fire, decided it was best to let the column continue in the direction it was making for. Therefore once more the hopes of all were crushed. It was now evident that no help was to be expected from Mataram and the situation in the temple was hourly growing from bad to worse; the thirst was unendurable and the air was filled with the stench of the dead bodies in the old bivouac. Everything must be risked to escape from this place of pestilence.

One of the Boelélengers belonging to the Resident's suite was of the opinion that with the exception of a few Balinese, who were left to observe the troops, the greatert part of the enemy would probably be busy fighting over the plunder of Van Lawick's column, so that if they tried to leave the temple at dusk—by the back entrance on the S. E. side (see plan)—there might be a chance of reaching the sawah unnoticed.

This plan was considered and approved of. The wounded were re-bandaged, the ammunition was evenly distributed,—every available man receiving from 60 to 70 cartridges—and the troops were divided into three divisions. Major Hamerster was with the first section; the main body, one section strong, was commanded by Captain Kamerman and this included also the servants, the women and the greater number of

the invalids, the remainder came with the last section under 1st Lieutenant Musch.

They made their exit through the specified door as noiselessly as possible; a Javanese servant, who was well acquainted with the roads of Tjakra served as guide.

They arrived outside unobserved. The first section got through the narrow dark path, which was so dangerous on account of many holes in the ground and odd stumps of trees and reached a better side road; but some of the tandoe carriers stumbled and this caused much confusion amongst the main body, which owing to the darkness, turned off into a different path, so that they lost touch of each other; the hindermost section missed the main body and returned to the temple.

After seeking in vain to effect a junction with the two remaining sections, the front section continued the night march across Tjakra Nagara. Many obstacles had been placed on the road by the Balinese, but these were succesfully removed and in an hour's time they found themselves in the sawah to the South of Mataram.

After a short rest, they directed their course Southwards and on the morning of the 28th were fortunate enough to reach the shore and make their presence known to one of the vessels lying in the harbour at Ampenan; boats were despatched to fetch them and all were conveyed to the bivouac there.

The rear-guard arrived not long after—about 7.30 a. m.—; they had returned to the temple and seeing that the Balinese were still unaware of their movements, they made another exit and had managed to make a somewhat similar march to that of the first section.

The most difficult task fell to the share of the main body with its large following.

While there were only 27 able-bodied men, Captain Kamerman had to take care of 7 severely wounded men, carried in tandoes, 11 slightly wounded, who could walk with assistance, the women, the servants and the convicts. As a result of that moment's confusion, they had taken a wrong path as we saw and now the officer in command became aware, but too late, that the rear guard was not following him and that he had no vanguard to protect his troops.

It was hopeless to think of re-establishing communication and run the risk of falling in with the enemy and there was no alternative but to try and reach the sawah alone.

Following a southwesterly route and avoiding all Balinese kampongs most studiously, Kamerman succeeded in reaching the beach the following morning about half past eleven, bringing with him all those who had been entrusted to his care. The wounded were carried in ship's boats to Ampenan; the others continued their march to Ampenan in company with a detachment which had been sent to look out for them.

Needless to say that Kamerman and his men received a hearty welcome from the Commander-in-chief.

Now that he was safe, reaction set in; the tremendous exertions and fatigues added to wounds which he had received, compelled Kamerman to seek the shelter of the hospital, which however he was able to quit very shortly.

The night spent by Lindgreen and his column was sad and full of anxiety.

How endless seemed the long dark hours to the wounded, who were almost dying of thirst and whose sufferings prevented their sleeping! *

How desperately slow the minutes crept by for those in health, waiting for help and deliverance! And they too were suffering from hunger and thirst.

Every moment made it surer and surer that they were left to their own resources.

Lindgreen suggested that those who were able should make an attempt to slip through the enemy and leave the wounded behind!

Ujlaki opposed the plan: if Lindgreen chose to go he could .... but he, the doctor, would stay with his patients and to this Lindgreen objected.

Another supreme effort must be made to sustain life in the temple as long as possible. On the highroad they had seen pack horses lying dead—these must be laden with provisions of rice and other food. A few of the men steal out gently .... minutes seemed hours .... but everything was quiet.

They came back; bringing with them two cases of hard biscuit and a small case of cartridges.

They tried again.

This time they returned with some tins of minced meat and some tins of butter .... but they also brought the startling news that Lieutenant-colonel Van Lawick was lying dead on the road.

This made a deep impression! The fact in itself was grievous enough, but it goes to prove that the confusion must have] been shocking, otherwise the body of their beloved Commander would never have been left behind.

A patrol was immediately despatched to bring the dead body into the temple.

The attempt succeeded, although the enemy was aware of the daring feat, as testified by the number of bullets fired at our men.

During the course of the night five or six trips were taken, and water, not of the very best, yet drinkable, was found in one of the houses, and some wounded men and a few dead bodies were brought in.

Towards morning three graves were dug and the dead, eleven in number, were laid to rest: in one was the Commander, in the second the soldiers and in the third the convicts.

Differing in position, rank, civilization and race, but all fallen in fulfilment of their duties and now covered with the same earth and protected by the same temple, these brave men, had all lost their lives in the service of the Hollando-Indian army.

* Dr. Ujlaki says that three of the wounded died that night for want of water.

During the funeral ceremony the Balinese renewed their firing and Lieutenant Van der Plank, who had been shot in the arm on the previous day, was wounded in the shoulder.

After the solemnity, a distribution was made of the prize secured the previous night,; a tin of minced meat was given out to every ten men, (about two pounds) and also some biscuit and a little water.

While they were all busy enjoying their simple meal, a convict approached the temple with a white kerchief. Lindgreen allowed him to climb over the wall. "He came with a letter from the Crown Prince to the Officer in command." Nobody however could decipher what was written on the "lontar" leaves. From this convict, taken prisoner by the Balinese, terrible accounts were received: our troops were entirely annihilated; all the officers killed; the soldiers, who had escaped from the slaughter, had all taken refuge on one of the warships and had sailed for Java; the Crown Prince—commanding the troops facing the temple—was wearing the uniform of the Commander-in-chief; other Chiefs the uniforms belonging to the deceased officers, etc. He had himself seen Van Lawick fall.

These tidings were confirmed by three other convicts, who had also been taken prisoners. "Soldiers had also been made prisoners; their treatment was very good; the Crown Prince very much regretted the occurrences which must have arisen through some misunderstanding; he and the old Prince were friends of the Government; they could not comprehend why the general had begun firing; had they not complied with all our demands?"

It was impossible that in their present situation all these things should not have made a very strong impression; for had there still been Dutch troops on the island surely they would have endeavoured to rescue their comrades.

Had the convicts not told the truth concerning Van Lawick? So, by degrees they began to believe the other facts reported by them.

Fortunately however the men in whose charge the troops were left were no longer young and impressionable.

The convicts were sent back to the Crown Prince with the request that the letter should be re-written in Malay language and in Dutch characters.

After a short delay another convict appeared with a note from the Crown Prince written in lead pencil on a sheet of white paper. It was in Malay and the characters were Dutch; it was signed by K'Tut. It contained the offer to allow the officers, soldiers and wounded men to retreat unmolested, if they would give up their arms. The proposal was rejected unhesitatingly. They had enough supplies for a few days more. And if the troops had not really left Lombock, help might come any moment; they would hold out as long as they could.

No sooner had the convicts departed with the refusal, than the firing began once more with redoubled energy and fury, besides big stones were flung over the walls and many of the men were badly hurt.

Four days, from 28th to 31st August, passed by in the midst of these difficulties. The sufferings and hardships of the wounded were intensified by the lack of surgical instruments and bandages and no water could be spared from the very limited supply to wash out the old bandages, so that old, dirty, blood-stained linen had to be used. No small alarm was caused when it was discovered that in one instance hospital gangrene had set in and there being no antiseptics, it was feared that the disease would spread rapidly.

The doctor in hunting round for what he could find opened the door of one of the little "family-temples" and there saw a Balinese corpse, embalmed and decked out in gala clothes. According to custom, there were also dishes of rice, pastry, etc. And fine linen covered the body.... and at the head was a piece of calico. There was no time for deliberation; he possessed himself of all that could be used as bandages, but in no way disturbed the corpse; he retired, locking the door behind him.

On the morning of the 29th hope revived. They heard the sound of a big gun, judging from the report they knew it came from the ships; at any rate, they had not yet left.

A few hours later, another shot and fresh hopes; but that was all.

Lindgreen made one more desperate attempt to open up communication with Ampenan. In a short note he described the situation and sent two convicts to carry it either to the bivouac at Ampenan or to the naval commander in the roadstead; he also sent two others to try and obtain food, especially rice, which was sorely missed by the native soldiers.

Nothing was ever heard again of any of the four men.

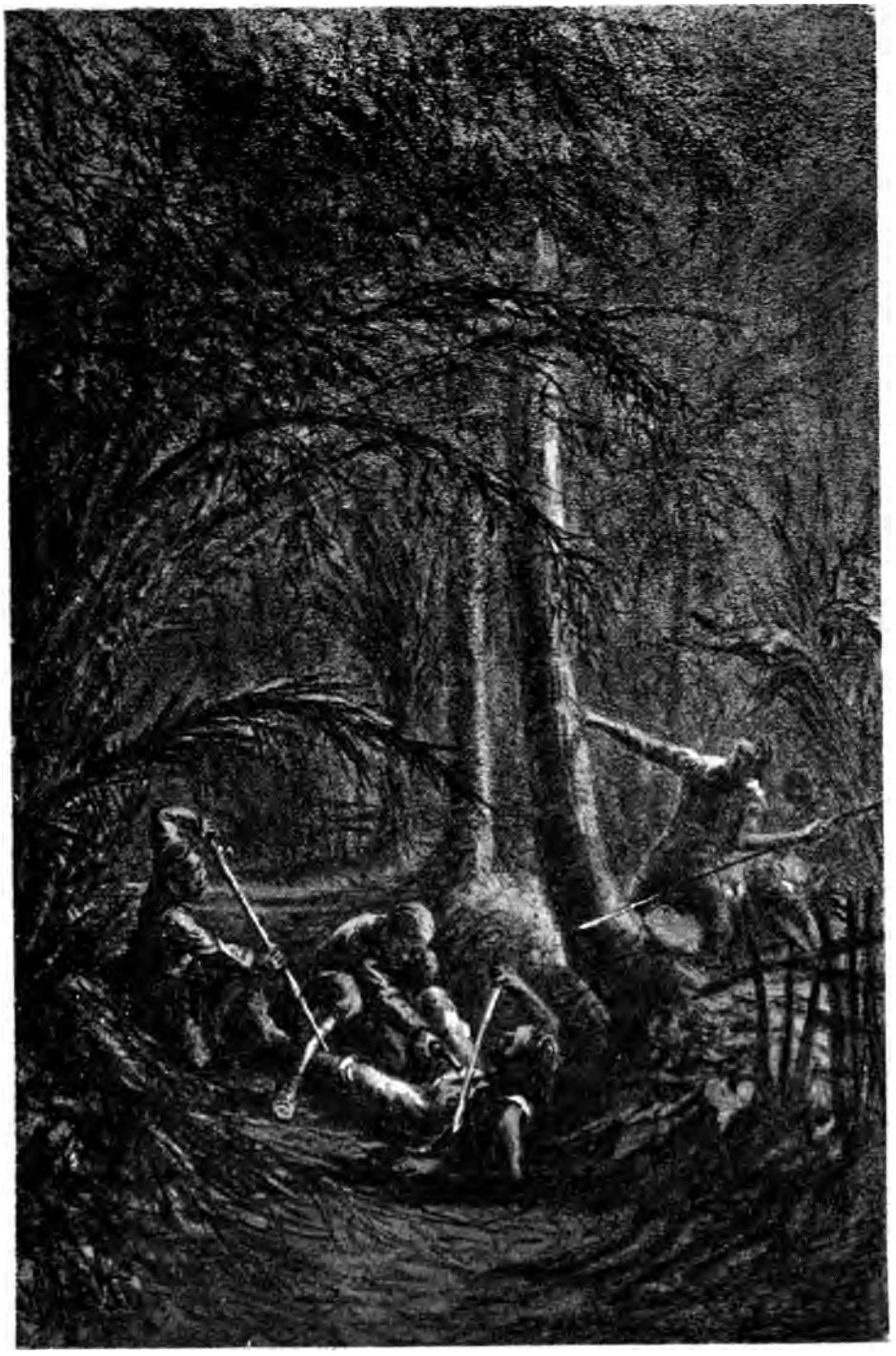
There was only one more day's provision, so some scheme of escape must be planned. Lindgreen reverted to his previous idea of leaving the wounded to take their chances and letting the others do their utmost to reach the open sawah. Dr. Ujlaki obtained another 24 hours' grace for his patients, for he said, that next day, 31 Aug. was the birthday, of H. M. the Queen and if there were still troops or ships at Ampenan they would hear guns salute.

Lindgreen having conceded this much, was however determined to prepare for departure and therefore sent scouts to find out the best and safest road to follow. The native sergeant Sadiman was the first to go, but soon returned having accomplished nothing. "He could not see a hand before him in the dark; he would prefer going in the daytime; in the middle of the day no Balinese were ever to be seen."

So in the afternoon of the 31st Sadiman, attired in the native dress entered the kampong. He stayed away about an hour. "He had been unable to find any road leading to the sawah; he had seen two Balinese seated in a house that he had had to pass...." he fancied "the sawah could not be very far distant."

In the evening the European sergeant Lith was sent on the same errand, but with the same result.

Everything was prepared for departure, but only the Europeans were informed of the project. "I did not dare visit my sick," writes Doctor



Lieutenant de Graaf and Sergeant Sadiman attacked by Balinese.

Ujlaki, "in every eye I should have read reproach." Yes, it was terrible, to think that those poor men with whom one had gone through so much and who were so full of trust, were to be left to their fate.... and perhaps a terrible one! At 11.30 a. m. Lindgreen sallied forth himself to look for a road. He stayed away a long while and they began to feel seriously anxious about him. No one knew even in which direction he had gone. Finally, as the hour fixed for the start was about to strike he returned. But he too had failed in his attempt.

Still he was determined to leave Tjakra with all the able-bodied men.

They were divided into three divisions; the first, including Dr. Ujlaki, was commanded by Lindgreen, the middle one by de Graaf, the last one by a European sergeant major; all left the temple as silently as possible and without any noise proceeded for an hour along the road which Lindgreen had reconnoitred, and which ran through ditches and hedges over walls.

The road ended in a square space surrounded by walls and the troops assembled here.

Hoping soon to find a road leading to the sawah, Lindgreen started once more on a scouting expedition by himself.

He came back without having succeeded; de Graaf offered to go and see what he could do, but Lindgreen insisted upon his taking two soldiers with him, but de Graaf thought this quite unnecessary; however it was decided that the native sergeant Sadiman should accompany him. Barely had they been gone ten minutes when the most awful shrieks pierced the air, followed by a shot. Lindgreen rushed to see what had occurred and met the sergeant, who told him they had been attacked by 4 Balinese. Lindgreen goes to the spot where de Graaf had fallen and found the body pierced with four spears and a revolver shot in the forehead.

Hurriedly they carried back the body to the walled-in space. All further idea of advancing was given up; as it was evident the Balinese were patrolling all the roads, Lindgreen decided to remain here and as soon as feasible to return for the wounded and transfer them to their new quarters.

In the dead of night, Lindgreen, the doctor, ten soldiers and the convicts, went to their former place of refuge to fetch their comrades; it was impossible to carry them all, so three were left behind, to be brought next time. It was a difficult task to perform, not only on account of the pitch darkness and the uneven roads, but because the enemy might discover them.

They reached the little square just in time, for the Balinese now surrounded the walls in hundreds, shouting and screaming. To risk fetching the remaining three wounded could not be thought of and all were now intent on putting this little square in a state of defence and find a safe place for the wounded. When all the needful measures had been taken, we had to think of burying young de Graaf.

It was a sad ceremony and men who had remained unmoved under the enemy's fire and who had suffered privation and hardships with coolness and indifference, could not refrain from shedding a tear of pity and

sorrow when this brave soldier was consigned to the earth. He was not only universally esteemed as a bold and courageous officer, but he had endeared himself to the hearts of his men by the manner in which he had shared their sufferings and had tried to comfort them in word and deed. Each man felt that he had lost a friend. Not much time was allowed for melancholy reflections, for the Balinese soon started operations again; and it was only at daybreak that it became apparent that the security here was not so great as it had been in the temple; from many houses in the neighbourhood the Balinese were able to fire straight into the square and also there was no protection whatever against stone-throwing.

Only a few tins of biscuit remained and the water they had found was putrid. And now the Balinese started hurling firebrands amongst the men. All were by this time exhausted; it was hopeless to expect relief and it was utterly impossible to fight a way through the enemy.

There was nothing to be done but surrender.

Lindgreen first took counsel with the officers, then with the European non-commissioned officers, no one could suggest any other plan.

At 1 p.m. on the 1st September Lindgreen wrote a Malay note in lead pencil to the Crown Prince, in which he declared himself ready to capitulate and to lay down his arms, on condition that all—sound and sick alike—shall be granted a safe conduct to Ampenan.

Sergeant Sadiman, under cover of an improvised white flag, handed the letter to one of the chiefs on the other side of the wall. The reply came that the Crown Prince wished to treat personally with Lindgreen. Lindgreen went out to the Balinese and after a short discussion with one of the princes was assured that his conditions were accepted by the Prince.

Meanwhile hundreds of Balinese had penetrated into the square space and now the weapons had to be delivered up.

It was a hard moment for those who had carried them so honourably and who owed their lives to them.

The wounded were carried by the soldiers and so they left their last stronghold.

Numbers of Balinese assembled in the streets to watch the procession—they were all armed, yet all maintained a respectful attitude, and not an offensive word was heard and not a threatening hand was raised.

On the road they saw many corpses of friends and comrades and the mournful sight intensified their own misery.

In half an hour they reached the poeri, and here worse things were presented to their view: the remains of the bivouac of the 6th Batallion. All was in ruins, everything heaped up together, nothing but a mass of devastation; dead bodies of men and horses, all serving as carrion for the dogs which were wandering about amongst them....

The bazaar itself was occupied by mounted Balinese and it was here that the soldiers had to wait until the Prince could receive the prisoners. Meanwhile refreshments were served to all: bigdjeroeks (half orange and

half lemon) to the officers and beautiful white rice and splendid clear water to the soldiers. And how they did enjoy it!

The attitude of the Balinese remained very respectful and they even appeared sorry for the wounded....

Ratoe Agoeng G'dé Ngoerah Karang Asem, Rajah of Lombock.

After the names and ranks had been written down, Lindgreen and Dr. Ujlaki were summoned to appear before the prince in the poer. The square into which they were shown was filled with armed, richly dressed Balinese with red jackets, forming the prince's body-guard, and

all were provided with entirely new Winchester repeating rifles. In the middle of the square there were two marquees and the prisoners were conducted into one of them; various chiefs and princes in yellow silk jackets and with gold and ivory krisses in their belts kept coming in and going out. After waiting for a quarter of an hour, the prince appeared, followed by a suite of courtiers; on the right and on the left he was supported by chiefs; a woman with a fan preceded him; and another with a cushion walked behind him. The procession approached with great dignity and all present bowed deeply. There was complete silence. With the assistance of two chiefs the prince seated himself in the second marquee; behind him sat the woman with the cushion, against which he leaned and all the chiefs or princes squatted on the ground around him.

The council began.

Different chiefs came forward in turn, bowed low and in very loud tones made their reports. The prince listened attentively.

Was this then the doting old man with whom it had been impossible to enter into negociation? The prince who was at the head of this gathering, was, it is true, fifty years older, but in other respects in no way altered since Zollinger described him, with his intelligent, characteristic and speaking features, the descendant of Gusti Wajan Taga.

Messengers were frequently sent by the prince to the prisoners, with assurances that he was still a friend of the Government and that he deeply regretted what had occurred; but that the troops had started hostilities. He further begged of Lindgreen to inform the General at Ampenan of this fact and to beg of him to leave the island.

So there still was a General at Ampenan. What a comforting piece of news. Lindgreen promised to transmit the message. But would the request to leave Lombock have much effect on the General? He himself only occupied a subordinate position, and even the General was not a free agent.

Although correct, was this observation exactly needed at such a moment? Did it not induce the prince, who saw the justness of it, to bring further pressure to bear in support of his demand?

It now appeared that the prince only intended to allow the officers to leave, in spite of the promises he had made; the soldiers would be kept as prisoners until an answer should be received to the letter, which the prince would give to the officers for the General. Lindgreen stoutly refused to accede to this arrangement. All should go, or none. And in this latter case, how could the government attach any weight to the word of a prince, who had violated his promises to the prisoners.

Without making any progress whatever, the conference lasted from 2.30 p. m. until 6 p. m.; and the promising tone of the beginning had conspicuously altered towards the end.

Lindgreen and Ujlaki were now conducted back to the other prisoners outside the poeri and all were taken to a filthy dirty place, which had probably served as a stable and all requests for food and drink remained

unheeded. Thus the night was spent out in the open air, without covering or protection of any kind and the sufferings of the wounded under such trying circumstances were indescribable.

Towards daybreak of 2nd Sept. Lindgreen and Ujlaki were again summoned to appear before the prince and this time they were conducted to the inner dalem. As on the previous day there were a great number of armed men and all the weapons bore traces of being in perfect order: On this occasion the prince did not appear himself, but sent a representative, who, judging from his attire, must have occupied a very exalted position: he was clad entirely in yellow silk and carried a gold kris resplendent with precious stones.

Lindgreen began reproaching him severely for the treatment they had received:

"That was no way of treating the Idas of the Netherlands Government, for that is who they were. Instead of giving them their freedom in accordance with the prince's promise, they had been locked up like dogs with nothing to eat or drink!"

The chief departed. It was not the first time that the bold language of a Dutch "Ida" had been known to make an impression upon a prince of Salamparang.

Shortly afterwards the chief returned with ample apologies for the bad accommodation. The prince had had no other place at his immediate disposal, but had given orders to prepare one of his residences for the prisoners.

And once more the prince assured Lindgreen that he was a "sobat kras" (fast friend) of the Government and as soon as the letter was ready they should be permitted to start for Ampenan.

Lindgreen and Ujlaki were now conducted by a guard of honour, composed of several chiefs to the East quarter of the poeri, where the pond is. The little house on its border was put in order and appointed to be their dwelling; Lieutenant Van der Plank and the European soldiers were allowed to share the house, but the native soldiers and the convicts had to return to their former quarters.

Officers and soldiers were then given food: rice, native cakes, porkpies, and shaddocks. What a welcome repast after so many privations.

And no less enjoyable were the opportunities of refreshment and bathing, such luxuries having been dispensed with so long.

Finally a Balinese notable, called Ida Madé Sabali, was assigned to do the honours; and his nephew Gusti Ngenga Hundu, a neighbour, said he would be only too happy to render them any service in his power.

Towards midday an emissary came from the Crown Prince to inform Lindgreen that before leaving the prisoners were to go and see him at Mataram.

In the hope that their hour of deliverance had struck, Lindgreen assembled all his men; the wounded were placed in very primitive

tandoes and with Batoe Bagus (the emissary) and the officers leading the way, the soldiers and the wounded with a large following of Balinese in the rear, they started for Mataram.

Thus they marched through Tjakra Nagara—in very different guise from what they could have imagined a couple of days before. The roads leading out of the town were all strongly barricaded and guarded.

At the point where the bivouac had been situated on the main road from Tjakra to Mataram it was absolutely impossible to proceed, as the foulness of the air was suffocating.

After a two hours' march they reached the cross-road at Mataram. The officers were received, not in the poeri of the Crown Prince, but in the former house of Gusti Njoman Kaler and the soldiers had to wait in front of it.

The Crown Prince remained invisible, but his son came and had some discussion with Ratu Bagus, whereupon the latter opened negociations in the name of K'Tut. Again the proposal was made that only the officers should be released and the soldiers kept as hostages—but Lindgreen obstinately refused to listen to any such arrangement, saying, that: "certainly no letter would ever be looked at at headquarters if all the men did not go together to transmit it to the General."

Just at the moment when Lindgreen's reply appeared to be bearing fruit, the Malay kampong chief of Ampenan, who pretended to be friends with us, appeared on the scene and when he saw the drift of affairs, he began by pointing out to Ratu Bagus, how great the advantages were to be derived by keeping the soldiers prisoniers—this chief, as we shall see later, was one of the most brutal specimens of his class.

Whilst the parleying was in full swing a shell fired from the roadstead fell on a dung heap, close to where the soldiers were seated but it did not burst.

Ten minutes later another shot was heard and all the Balinese present seemed terrified to death; this time the shell fell into a ditch, near which the wounded had been placed; the water splashed and that was all. None of our men showed any signs of fear.

This coolness surpassed the comprehension of the Balinese.

"How is it that none of you are afraid?" asked Ratu Bagus, when he had collected himself. It was on this occasion that Lindgreen gave that beautiful and simple reply, which is far more worthy of record than many other imaginary sayings:

"The bullets of the Company can never hurt the Company's children!"

And not one of those Balinese doubted the truth of this assertion.

Was Lindgreen's brave attitude about to bring its own reward. Of course it is impossible to say what might have happened; but what did happen was, that the old prince sent a messenger to say that the letter for the General was not yet ready and the prisoners were to return to Tjakra.

Once again to go over the same road; but how much harder was it this time. Scorching sun rays were pouring down on that disappointed

little band of men and exhausted both mentally and physically they found themselves back in the old quarters at Tjakra.

Every one was naturally feeling most depressed and out of sorts; on the whole the treatment of the Balinese was very considerate. The native soldiers were now permitted to share the accommodation in the poeri. The prince even sent one of the chiefs towards the middle of the day to inform the officers that presently some disturbance might be expected in the street in front of the poeri, but that there was no occasion for alarm. It was only a muster against the Sassaks who were threatening Narmada. This notice was shortly followed by the most astounding uproar. To the sound of war drums hundreds of Balinese passed by the poeri; all were armed with spears and were howling and shouting at the top of their voices.

Amidst all this performance the prisoners were in no way neglected, but were provided with all necessaries. This then was the way in which the 1st September went by.

The wounded were provided with fresh bandages, a present from the prince. On the 3rd of Sept. permission was given to go to the Dewa temple to fetch the three wounded whom they had been compelled to leave behind. True they were only convicts, but the hardships that had been undergone together in the same cause had brought all closer to one another.

All sorts of suggestions were made by the Prince during this period; one was that Lindgreen should write to the General—in Malay, so that it might be read beforehand—informing him that he and his men were prisoners, but well cared for by the prince. But Lindgreen refused to fall in with the plan: "he would only correspond with his chief in Dutch."

Then again it was proposed that the prince himself should write a letter to have it taken by one of the officers, for the General had given orders to shoot any Balinese who came within sight and the Prince dared not expose his poenggawas.

Meanwhile the squadron had bombarded Mataram; the greater part of the shells had burst and caused great damage to the houses as Gusti Njengo candidly confessed. On the 5th September a youthful Ratu coming from Mataram, told Lindgreen that his house had been destroyed by a bomb-shell and he was going to beg of the prince to release the prisoners, as that would certainly put an end to the war. The prince was a good friend to the Government, etc .... the old, old story.

On the morning of the 6th September, an order came to the effect that Lindgreen and his men were to prepare for their departure; the prince had written a letter to the General and Lindgreen was to be the bearer of it.

The Balinese provided our men with food and gave them bamboo to make new stretchers with and at 2 p.m. all was ready for a start.

Suddenly a most appalling noise was heard in front of the poeri, similar to that of a couple of days before.

Considerable anxiety was felt by all—so many disappointments naturally caused distrust—but this time all fears were unfounded. The clamour was simply to summon together the men told off to act as escort to Lindgreen.

The procession soon formed: first a couple of Chiefs—one carrying the despatch—and the officers, then the soldiers, some carrying the wounded and behind them armed Balinese.

A different route was followed to the one they had taken on their previous march; the prince had instructed them to go southwards through Passinggahan—was this so that our men should remain ignorant of the measures of defence, which had been taken? Arrived at this kampong the escort went into the poeri, where one of the sons of the prince resided and our men stayed outside, but the people brought them cocoa-nuts.

The march was continued in the same order as far as Sekar Béla and here the escort took their leave, with instructions to follow the road in a westerly direction. However instead of keeping to the route taken by the Commander-in-chief at the time of his retreat on the 27th August they took a shorter one. A native, whom they met just after leaving the Balinese, promised to guide them more quickly to Kalé, where the Netherlands troops were located.

On they went through narrow, solitary streets, over ditches and galangans. Quite unexpectedly about 4 p. m. they saw the beloved tricolor flying above Kalé, where Colonel Scheuer was in command.

Lindgreen and his men were really and truly saved!

And great indeed was the delight of the troops at Kalé at the sight of the comrades, whom they had given up as lost. The reception accorded them was more than cordial and naturally every effort was made to relieve the wounded and the sick; after all had been thoroughly attended to and refreshed, they were sent under a strong escort to Ampenan, where once more they were the recipients of hearty congratulations on the narrow escape they had had; of course some, who were too ill, were left at Kalé.

On his arrival at Ampenam Lindgreen handed over to the Commander-in-chief the letter from the Rajah; in it he said that the attack of 25th—26th August had originated on our side and furthermore that he released the prisoners purely as a sign of friendship and goodwill and to show that he wished to put an end to hostilities.

Lindgreen was somewhat disappointed to find that the Commander-in-chief did not think fit to send any acknowledgment of the prince's letter.

Now that the fate of the different columns and divisions was actually known, the extent of our calamities could be accurately estimated. The casualties were as follow: 97 killed, among whom 9 officers, 50 European and 38 Amboynese and native soldiers of inferior rank; 272 wounded, of whom 17 officers, 103 European and 151 Amboynese and native soldiers, 9 of whom have since died. Amongst the missing were 10

European and 16 Amboynese and natives, but these figures were reduced later on to 5 and 9.

Hitherto we have followed the sequence of events as they occurred, in order not to lose connection with them and now we will briefly state our opinion concerning them.

As a preliminary we will make one or two remarks: Repeated references have been made both in private and official documents—and we ourselves plead guilty to the same mistake—to a *treacherous* attack, to a base and shameful betrayal on the part of the Balinese, to an onslaught against which no precautionary measures were taken. In our opinion this statement is incorrect.

As an ally, our native subjects might prove treacherous—but in this instance there could be no question of betrayal, as far as the Balinese were concerned.

Up to the 25th August they were the people against whom our fighting powers were directed and whom we were busy trying to bring into submission by force of arms. The Balinese were therefore our enemies. As such they might resort to artifice and cunning—but under the circumstances they could not betray us.

Forethought must be taken for similar acts of cunning on the part of the opposing side. Difficulties may stand in the way; it may even be impossible to take decisive measures, still this does not preclude the need for straining every nerve to try and do so and to make every practicable arrangement for safety.

Now, it cannot be denied, that we left these precautionary measures incomplete, and that, by neglecting this duty, we facilitated the plans of the enemy, although we did not actually invite him to take advantage of his opportunity.

Another circumstance was responsible too for the extent of our disasters, the peculiar situation, the enormous size and construction of Tjakra.

Surely the danger proceeding from these facts was no secret. One contingency, that no one unfortunately seems to have taken into account, was the ease with which breaches could be made in the massive walls and which would place our men entirely at the enemy's mercy. An enemy shooting from over the wall *might* be disposed of, but against an enemy shooting from behind a wall, one was powerless.

"Yes, one ought to have known this, this ought not to have been overlooked."

Undoubtedly one ought to have known and an ideal Commander-in-chief with an efficient staff would not have overlooked this eventuality, but let who will, throw stones at General Vetter and his staff,—we do not wish to be of the number.

What has struck us most of all in reading the accounts of the war, and what deserves most special notice is the marvellous discipline, the fearless courage of the Indian army, not only amongst the officers but

amongst the soldiers; in face of the most intense distress, every man did his duty, the faith and trust in the leaders remained unshaken. From a military standpoint, this is looked upon as the bright side of the surprise.

Never before were the virtues of the Indian army brought in such happy prominence. But no matter how high sounding our praise may be, we feel compelled to notice one defect. Truly, every light casts a shadow.

With that tenacity of purpose, which our people displayed in their continuous struggle with the elements and by means of which they acquired greatness in their battle for liberty in the 16th and 17th centuries, and which is still to day the principal characteristic of our brothers on the far side of the river Vaal, with that tenacity, I say, we maintained our hold in Lombock.

Side by side with that tenacity of purpose, is another, a negative characteristic amongst our present day folks, a virtue which is compressed within narrow limits and has no longer a voice in the heart of European States. It is, a want of initiative, a shrinking from making a bold attack, from taking the offensive, a want of that quality which stamped our forefathers; which sent them in search for dangers and enabled them to vanquish them.

This was our fault at Atchin, at Flores, and this again was our fault here. The moment the enemy fired the first shot was the time to have taken refuge within the protecting walls of the Dewa temple; instead of so doing, preference was given to the open bivouac. But every shot that hits, increases the difficulties of taking the offensive, every wounded soldier is an encumbrance for the retreat.

Finally the number of dead and wounded was such as to force a compulsory retreat into the temple and all idea of offensive action was laid aside and a retreat was entered upon; we have seen how the marches were hindered by the transport of the disabled.

Precisely the same thing was repeated in the sawah-bivouac of the 7th Batt. During the whole night the sounds of rifle and cannon at Tjakra were heard and surely the Commander might have known what fate would be his, situated as he was in such an open, unprotected position. Even had he not wished to take the offensive, the very least he could do was to prepare for a strong defence; he might have taken up a position on the borders of Mataram and Tjakra with his three companies and conveyed thither victuals ammunition, etc.; instead of taking any such step the Commander waited patiently until the next morning and maintained his dangerous position until forced to retreat on account of his heavy losses.

Was the idea which the Commander-in-chief conceived at Tjakra of attacking the enemy in the poeri itself a wrong one?

Of course we do not mean an attack against the Western portion intersected by endless walls and passages, of the ins and outs of which all were alike ignorant, but against the Eastern side, at Majura, near where the

pond was. "The walls were too solid,"—quite so, but the gateways and doors were not!

The question remains whether our limited forces had any chance of success against so many thousand foes?

Too much time was wasted until one quarter of our men were incapacitated and required the care and watchfulness of ever so many others to guard them. If, instead of allowing matters to reach such a climax, an immediate reply had been given to the first shot, when all were in good condition, it is more than probable that our forces, 400 men strong and well organized, would have been able to give a good account of themselves.

Besides we do not believe that there were thousands of enemies at the outset, for it is incredible that preparations on such an extensive scale could have remained unsuspected by us. We surmise that this rising was very similar in its working to all others of a like nature: the initial success achieved by an inconsiderable number of men attracted to its ranks, not only all the hesitating ones, but those who had been left in total ignorance of the movement.

Had the enemy's forces been so large, and had the plan been so generally known, there was no reason why a simultaneous attack on the 7th Batt. should not have been attempted.

It is well known that it was only on the morning of the 26th August that the Prince notified to the population of Mataram that they were to take their part in the attack; and that, when the attack began against Major van Blommestein, the firing slackened at Tjakra.

This does not point to such an overwhelming superiority. Unhesitatingly we admit that to have taken the initiative would have been a risky, even a very risky, but by no means desperate, step; still it is always more praiseworthy to take a risk than to allow one's self to be killed without defence.

"There are times!" says von Clausewitz—"when the greater risk is the greater prudence!"

What about the officer in command of the 7th Battalion, might he not have gone to the assistance of the threatened at Tjakra? How eagerly they looked for his arrival. He was only 20 minutes distant from them. The whole night long he heard continuous firing; but only at dawn did he send a company to reconnoître.

How differently did the Germans act in the Franco-German war. (They marched towards the sound of the cannon on their own account). It is no use retorting: "they were in larger numbers," or "in that case the opposing army was not so overwhelming as here." It was not only the generals, who marched at the heads of their divisions, but also captains with their companies and lieutenants with their detachments who advanced against unknown and frequently countless numbers.

Would it have been desirable that the Commander-in-chief, once having reached the Dewa temple, should wait there for the columns

he had sent to the interior? We have seen that such was General van Vetter's primary intention, but on reflecting that it would be impossible to maintain the position long, now that no help was forthcoming from Mataram and seeing that he was unable to send any assistance to the columns, he gave up the idea.

We think that if the Commander-in-chief had succeeded—which he tried in vain to do—in warning the columns of his retreat and in ordering them to take a different route and avoid Tjakra, this would undoubtedly have been the best decision to have come to. But having failed in this, the conclusion was the columns would certainly march straight to Tjakra, to their Commander, in the hope of either supporting him or receiving support from him, but at all events with the surety of finding him there.

"Provisions were running short and there was scarcely any water to drink." This is certainly to be lamented; but there was no reason to think that days would elapse before the arrival of the columns; van Bijlevelt's might arrive within a few hours and van Lawick's within a day.

But what aid could the exhausted troops of Tjakra lend to the columns. Material aid little—perhaps; but, taken all together, they formed a force by no means to be despised. It remains of course an open question whether, now that the enemy had assembled, it would still have been feasible to attack them on their own territory; or whether our losses would not have even exceeded the actual total; but one point, on which there can be no doubt is that morally speaking the effect on the troops would have been beneficial.

We have witnessed the shocking disappointment experienced by the vanguard of Christan and Willemstyn when they discovered the bivouac of the Commander-in-chief deserted.

Regarding the retreat of the various columns, we have already expressed our admiration at van Bijleveldt's (Creutz-Sechleitner) feat and we have but one more remark to offer. Why did the column start so comparatively late from the bivouac at Sukarara? The order of the Commander-in-chief reached there during the night at about half past two and the troops did not march until 9 a.m. "The victuals and other things had to be conveyed to the kampong chief at Praja." In view of the instructions to return without delay, all things else fell into insignificance.

In this respect we consider that van Lawick's conduct was more laudable. At half past three he returned to his bivouac after a long fatiguing march—still, at 5 p.m., an hour and a half later, his troops were on the road again.

We wish to refrain from comparisons between the action of the two columns; their circumstances were too widely different to admit of any. The movements of van Lawick's column were sadly hampered by the large following in its train and it is quite sure that this column was received with a much heavier fire on its entry to Tjakra than was the other.

Was it however essential that either column should have passed through Tjakra? Might not this have been avoided?

Certainly van Lawick might have done so; he might have skirted it, but, considering what he knew of the occurrences, to have done so would have been an unpardonable mistake.

With what reproaches—well-founded ones too—would he not have been assailed had he marched straight to Ampenan without heeding his Commander-in-chief? For, unaware of all that had taken place, he could have no possible cause for imagining that the General had moved his quarters.

Was there then no loop-hole by which van Lawick could have extricated himself from his dilemma? In our opinion there is an answer to this, although we allow that it is neither decisive nor altogether satisfactory:

That something extraordinary was going on at Tjakra was very soon perceptible. The enemy was met and repulsed; this fact by itself was not so strange after the receipt of the Commander-in-chief's letter. But that on the approach of the troops to Tjakra, none of the Commander-in-chief's men were visible, that assuredly was a noteworthy fact. Then again there was the newly-made partition at the entrance and the total absence of people at the *bazaars*—to both of which the chief of the Staff drew attention. Did not these incidents justify the sending of a scouting party before entering Tjakra with the entire column?

"But the enemy would not have permitted these scouts to go their way undisturbed or return." Probably one out of the lot, even though wounded, might have been able to make a report. In any case the rest would then have been warned of the danger threatening Tjakra and precautionary measures could have been taken. What measures? Naturally, to help the others—at least if the patrol had not succeeded in reaching the deserted bivouac—but, without the train. That would have had to stay behind. It would not have been possible to leave many men behind either, without diminishing the force too much to be of any tangible use.

Perhaps, very probably even, the train would have fallen into the hands of the Balinese. Still, Van Lawick and his whole troop would have fought their way through, as did Van Bijlevelt, and the vanguard under Christan and Willemstijn, and Lindgreen and his men would have been spared their captivity.

This brings us to a subject—Lindgreen's captivity which has raised a good deal of discussion.

Having regard for all the circumstances which led up to the captivity and which we have carefully detailed, surely no one can condemn him. He did all that was possible to hold out as long as he could and to save the lives of his men. Although at the beginning he might have escaped, with the sacrifice of his wounded, later this became impossible. Fortune, which favored Kamerman under similar circumstances, was

against Lindgreen—but that ought not to take away from his merits, Most ungrudgingly do we bestow our admiration on both him and the brave men who stood such severe tests; and a special word of praise do we speak for the heroic conduct of the faithful Doctor Ujlaki, who through all emergencies ever remained true to his duty and, foreigner though he was,—showed such love for the Indian army.

After paying our tribute of respect to Lindgreen and his column, it is only common justice not to pass by unnoticed the behaviour of the enemy—the treatment of the prisoners at their hands is without parallel in the history of Indian warfare.

The friendly attitude of the Prince is easily to be understood. On discovering that the annihilation of our troops was not as complete as he had anticipated or as had been represented to him, and finding that the naval force was about to attack Mataram and that we not only occupied Ampenan but were on the point of assuming the offensive, he became alarmed and consequently regretted the results of his own act; he was anxious for reconciliation as appears from his declarations to Lindgreen and his letter to the Commander-in-chief and hoped that his considerate treatment of the prisoners and their eventual release would avail him in the attainment of this object.

The delicacy and discretion of the population, who displayed neither enmity nor discourtesy to their erstwhile foe; the politeness and attentions of the poenggawa's, whose power and influence we had been endeavouring to undermine—all these things excite our admiration and point to a high civilization, proving that we did not over-rate it in the early part of this work.

In judgment on the course of action taken by the Balinese in the attack made on us, their behaviour to our prisoners will occupy an important part on their credit side of history's page. From a political standpoint was the "release" a judicious act of the Prince? or would it not have been wiser on his part to have followed the advice given him by the chief of the commander of the Malay kampong?

It appears to us that the prince,—fortunately,—did not realize the amount of pressure he might bring to bear so long as he held Lindgreen in his power and further more that he had formed an exaggerated idea as to what the results of the release of the prisoners might be.

Concerning our attitude towards the prince there is nothing to say at all.

The Commander-in-chief did not even answer the letter. We regret this for Lindgreen's sake. We think that, although we had a good many scores to settle with the enemy, still it might have been permissible to acquaint the Prince with the fact that Lindgreen had fulfilled the trust placed in him.

Might not more help have been looked for from the troops that had been left at Ampenan than the ineffectual attempt at scouting that had been so speedily abandoned by the cavalry?

Perchance—and we are willing to admit the contingency—it was not possible for the cavalry to advance to their front. Did they

try to do so on the flanks? We are ignorant on this point, but we are well aware that their movements must necessarily have remained limited to the roads and we may assume that—unsupported—they would have had sooner or later to retreat from before Mataram.

In the bivouac at Ampenan there remained 2 full companies, besides a *naval brigade* of 200 men.

Leaving the latter behind to protect the bivouac, might not the two companies with the newly disembarked guns have advanced as far as Mataram, which lay within easy reach? Who can say what an effect such an immediate additional force would have had upon the Balinese. There need have been no fear of being isolated, for, animated by the determination to act on the offensive such as fills our neighbours the English, in their struggles against native races, a rapid march would soon have enabled them to join Blommestein and through him to have rendered timely aid to the Commander-in-chief.

Once again, instead of taking the initiative we see all attention turned to preparations for defence and for safety.

Would not the naval brigade supported by the two men-of-war in the harbour, have sufficed for this? If this be denied, it is all the more certain that a mistake was made in establishing the bivouac in such an unprotected spot, and leaving the base of operations unfortified, and held by only 3 companies.

It seems to us that the most practical means of protecting the bivouac would have been in assuming a strong attitude of offence and in shooting down all that came in our way.

That this course would have been feasible was demonstrated a couple of days later by Capt. Willemstijn.

Such tactics would have revived the spirits of our men and would have inspired the enemy with wholesome fear!

In conclusion a word concerning the fact that a naval officer of inferior rank the officer in command of the bivouac should have purposely been placed at the head of the naval brigade.

"It would not have been expedient to have entrusted the direction of the defence of Ampenan to a land officer of inferior rank to that enjoyed by the naval officer."

This was the opinion of the naval commander, an opinion which is usually accepted in a general sense when it refers to the command of combined operations of land and sea forces.

"It would never have done for the commander of the naval force to have placed over him an officer junior to himself," was the answer given by the minister of marine in reply to an interpellation on this point made by Heer van Vlijmen in the second Chamber on the 17th December 1894.

Are we to take this as the last word on the subject?

Cases arise when the greater share of the warlike operations must necessarily devolve upon the navy: in blockading, in naval demonstrations,

in bombarding towns lying near the coast, etc. The chief command ought under such circumstances to be placed in the hands of a naval officer, even should the men under him have land forces attached to them to assist in effecting a landing or other similar contingencies.

Where on the other hand the main business is to be executed by the army; where it is the duty of the army to march to the interior to carry on the operations needful for the attainment of the object in view, the officer appointed to command is naturally selected from the army, although the navy may perform valuable services in assisting the disembarking, in bombarding, etc.

In our opinion this is so logical that every novice in matters of war must agree with us.

By adhering to this elementary principle all difficulties will be forestalled and the public interests will be but served.

Matters of secondary importance have sometimes caused a deviation from this rule, and the natural consequences have ensued therefrom.

The chief cause of this deviation is due to the fact that promotion in the navy proceeds more rapidly than in the army. As the rank of major is non-existent in the navy, it is of frequent occurrence, that a comparatively young naval lieutenant of the first class (equivalent to captain) on his promotion to lieutenant-commander (equivalent to lieutenant-colonel) immediately becomes the senior of all the majors in the army.

On preferment to a higher rank still, that of naval captain (colonel) and after holding that rank for several years, as is the general rule, then at the time of a mixed expedition he is nearly always the senior in "standing" to much older colonels in the army.

If we apply the above-mentioned principle of the minister of marine then we come face to face with these difficulties: either in case of an expedition there is a very limited choice of commanders only to be increased by selecting less suitable men; or the command over army and navy ought to be separated which is equally bad.

The history of our Indian wars furnishes us with examples as disastrous in the one case as in the other.

This is not the place to expatiate thereupon; but we will give one illustration of each mode of proceeding.

At the time of the third Balinese expedition, the commander of the expeditionary sea force, vice-admiral (lieutenant-general) Machielsen occupied a higher rank than major-general Michiels the commander of the expeditionary land force.

The Governor-general had purposely entrusted the command of the navy to a young officer, with the idea of placing him under General Michiels, who from the character of the expedition was appointed commander of all the forces. Vice-admiral Machielsen objected to this arrangement, desiring to command his own sea force. The command was therefore divided between the two.

On the 31 March 1849 General Michiels requested the support of a naval brigade of 250 sailors and marines to assist him in carrying out

certain operations Vice-admiral Machielsen though well able to comply with the request, contented himself with supplying 80 men, much to the disappointment of the General!

During the Atcheen expedition of 1873 in case of absence of the Commander-in-chief, General Köhler, a suitable second in command was appointed in the person of Colonel Egter van Wisserkerke.

The command of the sea forces was however entrusted to the naval Captain (colonel) Koopman, his senior in standing. In case of accident to the Commander-in-chief, the command would therefore have devolved upon that naval captain. No, that would not do, so a hurried search was made for a substitute! This was found at the last moment in an older colonel of the land forces who had just arrived from Europe and was entirely ignorant of the preparations for, and conditions of the campaign.

The disadvantages attendant upon this course are known only too well.

And what was done here at Lombock?

Originally Colonel Segov was appointed second in command.

The commander of the sea forces in Indian waters opposed the nomination on the ground that the above named colonel was not of the same standing in his rank as the naval Captain Quispel, the appointed commander of the sea forces.

The objection met with no resistance. The comparatively small expeditionary corps of three battalions not only secured the honour of having for Commander-in-chief the oldest Major-general of the army—but had in addition, as second in command a second Major-general, the only one still available.

Such then are the anomalies resulting from a divergence from the above mentioned principle, the only really just one.

Surely the interests of the country ought to weigh more heavily in the scales than any private sentimentalities or susceptibilities.

It ought to be clearly understood that the person who is selected by the government for the important post of Governor, commander of the army or commander of an expedition, or as substitute for any of these, is called upon to carry out these functions not in his capacity as general or colonel or whatever else it may be, but even when dealing with officers of higher rank, is and remains the commander of the army, the commander of the expedition (or substitute of these) with all the authority and responsibilities attached to the office.

## VII.

### REINFORCEMENT OF THE EXPEDITION.

It was terrible news that reached the Governor-General during those last days of August.

First came the telegram from the commander of the fleet in Lombock waters, sent off during the night of 26th—27th August, saying that he presumed an attack had taken place the previous night on the head-quarters at Tjakra Nagara and at Mataram, as sounds of musketry and cannon proceeding from that direction had been heard all night; that the cavalry at Ampenan had ineffectually attempted to open up communication with Mataram; that towards evening some heavy firing had been heard in the direction of Mataram, but that now—midnight—all was quiet; that finally 200 men of the naval brigade and 4 guns had been disembarked to reinforce Ampenan.

And the following morning brought a more detailed telegram; this time from the Commander-in-chief; it had been despatched the previous day on board the *Koningin Emma*.

And in the Mother country, after the *Nieuws van den Dag* had published the first notice of the attack on the morning of 27th August, fresh items of bad news came pouring in daily. On the 28th the same paper published a telegram from Batavia, wherein it was notified that 14 officers, General Van Ham and 150 soldiers had been killed. In the afternoon of that day the *N. Rotterdammer Courant* announced that the number of killed and missing amounted to 185, amongst whom 30 officers.

More alarming still were the telegrams in the *Staatscourant* of the 28th and 29th.

"General Vetter announces, so telegraphed the Governor General:

"Tjakra attacked on the night of 25th. Firing continued all day. Losses in course of 26th are 14 killed and 85 wounded. No water, foraging impossible, losses increasing; at 3 p. m. retreated to Mataram. Baggage left behind so as to carry wounded in waggons. Heavy losses on the road. Situation Mataram worse. Camp deserted."

"Eight in the evening Bijlevelt's column from the interior arrived, also heavy losses."

"Provisions failed, could not reach bivouac, communication with Ampenan interrupted, hemmed in between Tjakra and Mataram: impossible to take offensive. Situation untenable on account of numbers wounded, on morning 27th retreated Ampenan in Southerly direction, losses there comparatively small. Killed: 4 officers. 63 soldiers; wounded: 12 officers, 153 soldiers; missing 6 officers, 143 soldiers. Four field guns left behind at Mataram."

"Nothing known of Van Lawick's column in the interior...."

"Meeting immediately of council of India with commanders of army and navy to consult about my idea of sending forthwith battalion and artillery; if necessary more available. Will telegraph you decision." We will not quote any more of those harrowing telegrams so pregnant with disaster, creating such a heart-rending impression everywhere.

There was one man however who knew no fear and maintained a bold front and that man was the Governor.

Immediately on receipt of General Vetter's telegram, the Governor-General summoned an "extraordinary meeting" of the council of India. Here there was no talk of recalling the expedition—the disastrous consequences of such a proceeding were shown to us in the first Atcheen campaign—the losses suffered should without delay be made good, a new battalion sent to the seat of war and if this were not sufficient then the Commander of the Army guarantees that the Governor-General may promise more if the Commander-in-Chief requires more.

This was the language of a man.

Here we listen once again to the language of our ancestors which shall be written in letters of gold in the annals of our country.

That very day the Commander-in-chief is telegraphically informed that at the latest within four days the 2nd battalion of infantry stationed at Magelang shall sail for Lombock; that within the shortest possible space of time a strong train of artillery shall follow, with all that is required for repairing the losses sustained and reconstructing the field force.

Meanwhile M. Segov, promoted from Colonel to Major-General, is instructed by telegram to take the place of General Van Ham as second in command, and the experienced Chief of the General-Staff J. J. K. de Moulin, promoted to a colonelcy, is appointed Chief of the Staff of the expedition and goes to Lombock to replace Major Hamerster who was then missing.

The observation corps which had previously gone to Bali, but had been sent back to Java, was at once ordered to return to Boelèleng.

Assured of speedy reinforcements, the Commander-in-chief was in a position to telegraph to the Governor-General two days later, 30th August, the plans he proposed for the resumption of hostilities.

In order to restore the *moral* of the soldiers, as well as to warn the enemy of what he might prepare for, it was considered wise to send two companies under Captain Willemstijn, of the General Staff, on a march in the direction of Mataram, on the 30th and 31st August. It was then apparent that the enemy was busy fortifying the West front of that

place, that they were throwing up breastworks in the neighbourhood of the temple on the East of the dessa Arung-Arung and that at various points they were breaking up the road between Ampenan and Mataram.

The Balinese who were employed in the construction of the breastworks were driven away by a couple of salvos. On the 30th and on the 31st the artillery opened fire on Mataram with the two remaining mountain guns and we have described the consternation it caused there.

The same day, the Commander-in-chief read to the troops the telegram of sympathy that had been sent by the Queen-Regent and afterwards made known to them the order of the day as drafted by the Governor-General:

Officers and soldiers!

"It is with the greatest grief that I have heard of the death and wounding of so many brave men, fallen not in honorable warfare, but as the victims of darkly-planned treachery. Reinforcements are on the way for a new and effective advance, and I feel convinced that the army, sustained by our gallant navy, will not only maintain its high reputation but will increase it.

"The many, now mourning the loss of husband, son or brother will find comfort in the victory you will win!

"Both your Queens and your country have their eye fixed on you, and trust in you.

"I felt the need of saying this to you to-day, the birthday of your Queen and I ask you to join with me in crying:

"Long live the Queen."

The period of anxious waiting was now over. The air was cleared. With energy and courage a fresh advance was to be made, to be prudently and circumspectly carried on till the goal was attained; our disasters were to be avenged, further laurels added to our country's crown!

For the navy too a new epoch was ushered in. The coast would have to be guarded against the introduction of contraband of war and against the crossing of Balinese troops. On the 29th August the "*Koningin Emma*" steamed up to the Balinese kampong Tanah Embat, to the North of Ampenan and discharged about 50 shells from her 12 c.m. breach-loading howitzers. Later on in the course of the day more bomb-shells were fired on Mataram from the 17 c.m. guns.

The "*Prins Hendrik*" threw some shells with the 12 c.m. howitzers in the direction of Mataram, with probably very little damage to the place as it was out of range.

During the following days a few shells were fired on Mataram by the 17 c.m. guns of the "*Koningin Emma*".

Of course this bombarding could not be productive of anything much. How different would have been the result, if immediately after the

surprise Mataram and Tjakra had received instantaneous retribution from ships lying close by!—They were only respectively 5500 and 6500 mètres from the coast line.

To determine whether, if this were impossible at the time, it came within the range of possibility at a later date, we must take a survey of our available maritime resources in India, while preparations were put forward for the reconstruction of the expedition.

It is only fair to admit that what we have to say on this point is not exactly of an encouraging nature.

At the present time our Indian military marine consists of one iron-clad, one protected corvette, fourteen gunboats, three paddle steamers, one surveying ship, one torpedo boat, two guard ships and three smaller surveying craft.

Belonging to the Netherlands Marine there are in India one iron-clad, one protected cruiser besides two frigates, together forming the auxiliary squadron.

The iron-clad, belonging to the Indian military marine, the *Koning der Nederlanden*, a ramturretship built in 1871—1874 dates from the early days of iron-clads. Of very moderate speed, with a very weak side armour, a ram of doubtful strength, with no deck armour, without any torpedo apparatus, it is unfit to satisfy even the most modest requirements of the present day; while the armament consisting of 4.12 c.m. B. L. howitzers—a gun of limited range and still more limited accuracy—and the old 28 c.m. muzzle loading turret guns originally fitted.

Improvements which were made in other ships of this date which were equally defective were omitted in the case of this ship.

The *Koning der Nederlanden* was withdrawn from the naval force (1st April) in the Atcheen waters and even on the way to the wharf at Surabaya, had to put into dock at Singapore for repairs to the steam-boilers, and to be scraped, as no way could be got on her, owing to the foulness of her bottom.

If the Indian military marine had hitherto not derived much benefit from this costly present, things might have assumed a different aspect with the iron-clad *Sumatra*, a modern vessel, the only ship of this class, well-armed: 1 gun of 21 c.m., 1 of 15 c.m., 2 cannons of 12 c.m. (35 calibres in length), all of new patterns and which had respectively ranges of 12.000, 10.000 and 9000 mètres with very flat trajectory.

As we saw, the *Sumatra* was originally attached to the expedition, and would, at the time of the reconstruction have proved invaluable, as Mataram and Tjakra were well within the range of her guns, had it not been for the fact that on the 15th August she had been compelled to go into dock at Surabaya to undergo some urgent repairs, which according to the colonial report ought to have been executed by the end of August of that year; but which had not been completed.

Regarding the fourteen gunboats they were launched in the following

order: one in 1873, one in 1874, one in 1876, one in 1877, two in 1878, one in 1879, one in 1880, one in 1885, two in 1887, two in 1891, one in 1892 and according to the Colonial Report of 1895 they are classified thus:

in very good state:
the *Bali*, *Borneo*, *Lombock*, *Sumbawa*;
in good state:
the *Ceram*, *Flores*, *Madura*, *Pontianak*, and *Batavia*;
still available:
the *Padang*, *Sambas* and *Benkoelen*;
under repair:
the *Java* (since 24 June 1893) and the *Makassar* (since 1 Sept. 1893).

The oldest gunboats, excepting the *Pontianak* (1873) which was provided with a 16 c.m. breachloader all carried a heavy breach-loader of 18 c.m. calibre. This was the case with the *Sambas* (1874), *Batavia* (1876) and the *Makassar* (1877). In addition to this all are equipped with two 12 c.m. breachloader howitzers, with which it is possible to fire at a range of 3600 mètres.

The *Padang* and the *Bali* (1878), as well as the *Benkoelen* (1879) the *Madura* 1880 and the *Java* (1885) all mounted a 15 c.M. 32 gun having a range of 5000 Mètres and 3 small breachloaders of 12 c.m.

This appears to have been the most flourishing period; the following ships have no heavy breechloaders, they are only fitted with three 12 c.m. B. L. howitzers, and to this series belong the *Flores*, and the *Ceram*, both built in 1887, the *Lombock* and the *Sumbawa*, built in 1891.

Fortunately the *Borneo*, launched in 1892, was better armed, even though somewhat heavily for this class of boat, having 6 B. L. guns of 10.5 c.m. 12 *calibres* in length, which, with a range of 9000 Metres, could have very easily bombarded Tjakra Nagara. Unfortunately this ship—the only one qualified for the purpose—could only dispose of a very limited amount of ammunition, viz. 110 rounds to her guns.

The reserve ammunition was on the way from Holland, for owing to the fact that similar guns were not in use either by the land forces or sea forces in India, a supply could be obtained in no speedier way.

Needless to say that the utmost moderation had to be exercised in firing these six guns.

Regarding the remaining vessels of the Indian military marine, we have but little to say from the standpoint of our work.

The three paddle steamers date from 1874, 1877 and 1878. They bear witness chiefly to the fact that in India, ships as well as people can with care, live to a good old age.

The 1st class paddle steamers Merapi, is even fit for service, at least when not in dock, which happens every now and then, according to the Colonial Report: "This vessel was in dock at Singapore in March and April 1894 and again in November." Of the two other 2nd class paddle steamers the *Sindoro* was disqualified for service in May last at

Surabaya, and the other the *Soembing* was withdrawn from Borneo temporarily in November 1894. Fortunately however the repairs were completed by December 1894.

Our surveying ship, the *Banda* (1872) was in the docks at Surabaya from the middle of May for repairs.

Our only torpedo boat, the "Cerberus" was for the greater part of the time in the stocks at Surabaya; and finally concerning our guardships, the *Gedeh*, the guardship at Tandjong Priok, was without steamboilers and a prey to white ants (Colonial report 1895) and only the *Bromo* (1874) at Surabaja was in a state of efficiency.

Excepting the torpedo boat and the surveying ship, which can only carry small guns, all these vessels are provided with 12 c.m. howitzers at the outside, but the Merapi carries also two breachloaders of 16 cm.

Respecting the auxiliary Squadron, the ramship *Prins Hendrik der Nederlanden*, built in 1865—1866, although of earlier date than the *Koning der Nederlanden* was in no way inferior to the latter.

The frigates the *Koningin Emma der Nederlanden* and the *Tromp* were unarmoured and unprotected 1st class screwsteamers of moderate speed and lighting capacity. Both mounted, besides 12 c.m. B. L. howitzers guns, six of 17 c.m., with which, as the range of these latters was 5000 metres, it would have been possible to bombard Mataram, but not Tjakra.

These then were the ships at the disposal of the Indian Marine.

What then could be done on receipt of the request: "Send ships immediately to Lombock?"

Atcheen still required the lion's share. Thirteen men-of-war were still stationed in the waters of North Sumatra: *Koning der Nederlanden*, the gunboats *Pontianak*, *Sambas*, *Batavia*, *Padang*, *Beukoelen*, *Madura*, *Flores*, *Ceram*, *Lombok*, *Sumbawa*, as well as the paddle steamers *Merapi* and *Sindoro*. One ship was still stationed in the Southern and Eastern division of Borneo the paddle steamer *Soembing*.

By comparing this statement with the foregoing one, it is clear that the *Bali* was the only available ship at Surabaya, while, besides the two withdrawn, the *Java* and *Makassar*, four ships were undergoing repairs, viz: the *Sumatra*, *Borneo* and *Tromp*, and the surveying ship *Banda*.

So that although it was decided that the naval portion of the expedition was to be as speedily as possible placed on a similar footing to what it was originally, there was a wide distance between the decision and its execution.

True, the opium cruiser *Cycloop* was once again placed at the disposal of the naval commander on the 29th August, to do despatch-boat duty along with the *Argus* but what about the rest?

The working power was inadequate to undertake the necessary repairs to all the ships simultaneously. So it was settled to get the *Tromp* which required least repair, ready for service at once.

The idea of sending the *Sumatra* to Ampenan was entertained at

first, as this boat might have rendered excellent service in helping the *Borneo* to bombard *Tjakra*. However it was not carried out and, instead of the *Sumatra*, the *Bali* was added to the expeditionary sea force and along with the *Borneo* was got ready as quickly as possible.

Meanwhile the *Tromp* reappeared in the harbour at Ampenan on the 2nd September in exactly the same coudition as when she was sent to Surabaya.

The writer of the article: "The fleet for Lombock" in *Het Vaderland* (16 January 1894) says:

"Although the *Tromp* had not the full use of her steam power, yet it was an enormous gain to have another ship, provided with a fairly numerous crew and a battery, of sufficient calibre to keep up the fire on Mataram.

"The presence of two large ships in the proximity of the bivouac being sufficient for the present, one of the other two vessels, the *Emma*, or the *Prins Hendrik* might conveniently have been despatched to guard the strait, especially the bay of Kombal to prevent Gusti G'de Djilantik crossing over to Karang Asem in one of his own ships.

"What did happen in reality?

"After the frigate *Tromp* had joined the naval force at Ampenan on 2nd September, the then commander of the naval force and at the same time commander of the frigate *Emma*, withdrew this latter temporarily from the naval forces, by setting sail the following morning for Macassar in order to fetch a fresh supply of coal.

"We consider that the daily supply of coal for whatever use ought to have been furnished from the stock of the boats belonging to the Steam Navigation Company which should have been contracted for at Batavia; and that under the circumstances this vessel should have remained in the near neighbourhood of the headquarters, just as the *Prins Hendrik* would have been a more suitable vessel for cruising purposes; the useless attempt of the Commander-in-chief to keep the ship at Ampenan must be looked upon as a most unfortunate incident.

.... It is then a fact, however incredible it may appear, that on the afternoon of 3rd September the *Emma* was nearly out of sight of the ships in the harbour at Ampenan, setting sail for Macassar."

In further explanation of this strange proceeding we must state that on the morning of the 3rd September a conference was held at which were present the Commander-in-chief, the second in command, the chief of the staff, the commander of the *Prins Hendrik*, the naval captain Backer Overbeek and the director of Internal Affairs, Scherer; the importance of Djilantik's arrest was held to be vital—immediately after the first attack, he had with his followers, made for Kombal bay on the West coast—consequently instructions were sent to the commander of the *Emma*, who was preparing for departure, to remain where he was and the commander of the *Prins Hendrik* was ordered to start immediately

for Kombal and seize Djilantik if possible, but at any rate to prevent his crossing over to Karang Asem.

The letter containing the instructions for the captain of the *Emma* was sent from headquarters at half past nine in the morning and was taken by an orderly, who handed the document to some one from the squadron, whom he met accidentally on the shore; this man took the letter carefully to transmit it to the right person; but in the midst of his work all thoughts of the precious letter went out of his mind!

When he remembered it, it was taken on board at about half past twelve and it was the commander of the *Prins Hendrik* who received it. The *Koningin Emma* was by this time out of sight. It was fated to be so; but why was it that the *Koningin Emma* was in such a hurry to depart, just at the very moment when her presence was so much needed at Ampenan and there was in reality no need for her to go to Macassar for coal? There would not have been the slightest difficulty or objection to her borrowing a supply from the *Tromp*, just arrived from Surabaya; and why did she stay longer at Macassar than was necessary for the accomplishment of this task?

At the same time the *Koningin Emma* was carrying 450.000 florins to Macassar, part of the war indemnity which had been saved. But was it imperative that this should be done at this important time, when the bivouac was far from safe and might any day require the help of the naval brigade? Would it not have been feasible for the *Maetsuijcker*, which was frequently going backwards and forwards to Surabaya, to have conveyed this money?

No; none of these are strong enough reasons. Had the commander perhaps some special cause for desiring to leave Ampenan at this time? In that case, other arrangements might have been made and at least the precious ship could have remained in the harbour.

Finally, why did not the Commander-in-chief recall the *Emma* by telegram, which (via Boelèleng) would have reached Macassar as soon as the ship itself? Had this order been sent the *Emma* would have been back in time—a couple of days previous to Djilantik's flight.

So it came to pass that only two vessels were in the harbour at Ampenan, and the *Tromp* daily discharged about ten shots on Mataram. As the presence of both ships was positively indispensable for the safety of the bivouac, there could be no further question of patrolling the coast.

It was only on the return of the *Koningin Emma* from Macassar on the 12th Sept. and of the *Bali* and *Borneo* on the following day that the idea of cruising could be put into execution.

By this date the bird had flown! On the 7th September Gusti Djilantik with his followers had crossed over to Karang Assim in fifteen praos.

It was all very fine to say afterwards, as did formerly Siberg, the Governor of Java to Reijke, Governor of Macassar when they were compelled to desist in their attempts against Bali and Salamparang, that practically speaking there was not very much to be regretted; that

after all it was perhaps for the best that Djilantik and his men had left Lombock, as all fear of encountering hostilities from him were now at an end; we think that in this instance the proverb of the "sour grapes" is very applicable.

What would it have mattered if our already so numerous enemies had been increased by a hundred or so Balinese, the greater part of whom were only armed with kris and spear, in comparison to the great advantages attainable by the capture of Djilantik? This feat would have ensured the simplest and most desirable result regarding affairs in Karang Asem! Whereas now, notwithstanding all the declarations of innocenee and friendship on the part of Djilantik, we are as far off as ever from any settlement.

For we cordially agree in our opinion of him with that expressed by Siberg of this prince's ancestors: "that they only remain our allies, as long as they have any benefit to derive from our friendship!" The *Prins Hendrik* was now commissioned to cruise about in Komal bay on the West coast, and the *Bali* was sent to guard the East and North coast. The *Koningin Emma* stayed in the harbour of Ampenan to the North and the *Tromp* was stationed at the South of the bivouac.....

Under the existing state of affairs a bombardment would prove far more effectual and was planned for the 13th September.

From the statements we have made it is perfectly clear that owing to the unfavorable conditions of our navy in Indian waters, added to a combination of unfortunate circumstances, the share to be taken by the navy in the resumption of operations was not as important as might otherwise have been both possible and expedient.

The question then arises as to what should constitute the strength of our navy in India? To discuss the subject in detail would lead us too far astray from our main point, so we will content ourselves with one or two condensed remarks. The duties of the auxiliary squadron are multifarious, as we know from various authorities, the late minister Jansen, the commission of 1889, etc., they include: the protection of small men-of-war, mail and packet boats; the maintaining of communication with foreign possessions; the protection of coast towns from unexpected attacks; the keeping at bay of a hostile fleet and attacking them on an attempt to land.

Is it possible to accomplish all these things with the force we have named?

The retired vice-admiral Jhr. J. A. Roëll expressed a very different opinion in his recent pamphlet: "De Zeemacht in Oost-Indie": (The Naval force in East India.) in which he required 6 warships, 2 cruisers, 2 despatch-boats, 5 large and 4 small torpedo boats.

Serious thought will have to be bestowed on our coast defences; at the present moment the only available ship for that purpose is the *Cerberus* of the Indian Military Marine!

And the Marine itself? The number of ships is ample; but the same thing is far from true regarding their actual intrinsic value; we

have already noted the fact that many have reached a respectable age, but owing to that very reason they are continually being laid by for repairs and for all practical purposes they might as well not exist.

We admit that the same requirements need not be insisted upon for this marine as for the auxiliary squadron; and the arming with guns of the whole Indian military marine, so as to satisfy the exigencies of the times, would be too costly.

The history of this campaign has certainly demonstrated the need for at least strongly arming a great number of our ships.

To equip the new ships with modern guns is quite reasonable and judicious.

Why then is it that having done away with the old 12 c.m. breach-loader, (dating 1867) for the *Borneo* in 1892, this *gun* was supplied to the *Nias*, seeing that there are already so many similar ones in the Indian military marine?

Doubtless the saving of half a ton, (50.000 florins) which would have been the additional cost of three 10.5 c.m. similar to those of the *Borneo*, (as they still had the 12 c.m. B. L.) was the motive of this decision; but is it not just possible that this may be called mistaken economy?

It is only by powerful armament that these costly modern ships are rendered effective.

It is with intense satisfaction that we have learnt from the recent colonial report that the gunboat to be constructed this year of the same class as the *Nias* is to be furnished with three 10.5 c.m. B. L. guns.

We only express the fervent wish, that in other respects too, a new era is dawning for the Indian military marine.

After the news of the disaster which had befallen the troops at Lombock reached Magelang on the morning of the 28th August, orders were issued at 6 p.m. to the 2nd Battalion stationed there, to make immediate preparations to start for the seat of war on the following morning.

There was decidedly not much time to prepare in; but a few weeks before the battalion had been declared a marching battalion and ought consequently to have been ready for marching.

Quite correct, but to comply with this demand, it is necessary that the depot battalions should be in a position to replace at once all who are absent or unfit for active service; and this is not at all times easily managed.

The officer in command of the 2nd Batt. was in the hospital, one captain, several lieutenants and a considerable number of soldiers were missing or unfit for active service. These deficiencies had to be supplied in great haste and as far as the men were concerned, they consisted chiefly of young soldiers of the 2nd depot battalion who were in garrison at Magelang

The officers therefore had their hands full and it was late at night before they could turn their attention to their own affairs. The following morning there were many matters to be looked after; slight repairs to rifles, exchanges to be effected, the delivery of cases and clothes, etc., so that it was 1.30 p.m., the hottest hour of the day, before the march to Willem I. could be begun.

The knapsacks and baggage were carried by coolies, hired by the civil administration, still a quick advance was impossible, partly owing to the intense heat and previous fatigue and partly in consequence of the large following of coolies. No matter what the width of the road these men will walk one behind the other, and all the idlers on the road and the carts, etc., get mixed up amongst them, which causes them to get cut off, whereby great loss of time is occasioned.

If the troops had proceeded along the railway track from Semarang-Willem I to Magelang, (a distance of 36 k.m.) the advantage of which from a military standpoint has already been referred to, they would have been enabled to embark the same afternoon, instead of which they did not take ship until two days later.

And yet of what incalculable value these two lost days might have been.

Night quarters were taken up at Medono, (15 k.m. from Magelang) which was reached about 6.30 p. m. and the following day they arrived at Willem I. at half past twelve and were conveyed by train, on 31st August, straight to Semarang, where the battalion was to embark. They reached this port at 11 a.m. and after the usual presentations to the commander and colonel, the embarkation of the troops took place much in the same enthusiastic manner as before described in speaking of the other troops. Five large "praos" carried the troops and a small steamer carried the officers to the *Coen* and by a quarter past twelve all were safe on board.

In addition to the *Coen*, the *Carpentier* was also lying in the harbour; both had left Batavia on the 30th August, bringing troops to complete the 13th Battalion at Surabaya, and also field and mountain artillery for Lombock.

They continued the voyage, the *Carpentier* reaching Ampenan the same night, and the *Coen* at 6.30 a.m. on the 2nd September. By half past nine all the troops were on shore.

On the same day that the troops of Central Java embarked at Semarang, the reinforcements from East Java embarked at Surabaya. Infantry of the 13th Battalion, a section of siege artillery and a detachment of engineers (from Malang) left in the morning at ten by the *Maetsuijcker* and the observation corps destined for Boelèleng and consisting of a company of the 8th Battalion (from Ambarawa) left two hours later on the *Japara*.

The distance being short, the *Maetsuijcker* and the *Japara* reached the roadstead of Ampenan on 1st September, and there they landed 13 officers and 361 infantry soldiers, (155 European and 206 natives) besides two 12 c.m. B. guns and two 20 c.m. Mortars.

On the 4th Sept. a section of mountain artillery left Surabaya on the *Medan*, and on the 9th the *Speelman* brought over the 15th company of artillery. We will now give in detail the whole *additional* force:

HEADQUARTERS: Major General Segov; the chief of the Staff, Colonel J. J. K. de Moulin, to whom Captain K. van Erpecum was attached; two clerks.

INFANTRY: As commanders of the 6th and 9th Battalions Lieutenant-Colonels E. M. A. A. E. Frackers and A. H. W. Scheuer, 4 captains, 15 lieutenants, 200 European, 100 Amboynese, 100 Madurese, and 100 native soldiers, besides the necessary transport and complete equipment.

ARTILLERY: In command of the division of field and mountain artillery Major G. Feuilletau de Bruyn, to whom Lieutenant E. van Thiel was attached as aide-de-camp.

*a.* FIELD-ARTILLERY: 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 72 European and 29 native soldiers, with necessary transport; 3 officers and 47 troop-horses and 1 mule.

*b.* MOUNTAIN-ARTILLERY: 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 35 European and 38 native soldiers, with necessary transport, besides 1 officer and 13 troop-horses and 33 mules.

*c.* GARRISON-ARTILLERY: One company composed of 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 99 European and 32 native soldiers and necessary cadre.

*d.* ATTACHED TO THE COEHORN-MORTARS: 2 Europeans, 2 mules and 4 draft horses.

Total of the artillery: 11 officers, 198 European and 99 native soldiers, 65 horses and 36 mules.

CAVALRY: 6 cavalry (troopers) soldiers and 6 troop-horses.

ENGINEERS: A section of engineers, 1 lieutenant, 4 European and 26 natives strong.

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION: 4 lieutenant quarter-masters.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT: 2 surgeons belonging to the 1st class, and three belonging to the 2nd class, 4 hospital attendants, 12 nurses and 12 bearers.

GENERAL TRANSPORT: 13 European infantry non-commissioned officers.

The topographical service was furnished with entirely new measuring and drawing instruments; the engineers received a completely new pontoon train, in addition to a reserve supply and implements; the administration was provided with various necessaries to replace clothes and camping equipment; the medical department received cases of medicine and bandages, litters, field beds and 70 tandoes. The consignment of artillery was of considerable importance.

The artillery park was as follows: six rifled steel 7 c.m. B. L. guns, for the field artillery, with nearly sufficient material for the 2nd, 3rd and 4th line.

four 6 cm. B. L. guns for the mountain artillery, with 48 portable munition chests, etc.

two Bronse 12 c.m B. L. guns for the garrison-artillery and two smooth-bore bronze 20 cm. mortars, which were subsequently increased by four 12 cm. B. L. guns, four 12 cm. howitzers and four 20 cm. mortars.

The additional ammunition, besides what the batteries and sections carried themselves consisted of one reserve supply for the battery and two for the sections, besides:
300 shells, 300 cartridges and 60 rounds of shrapnel to every 12 cm. gun and every 12 cm. howitzer, and 100 shells, 100 cartridges, 50 carcasses and 50 light-balls to every 20 cm. mortar and lastly 576,760 rifle and 23616 revolver cartridges.

The reinforcement of the expeditionary troops consisted in:
the 2nd battalion of Infantry, small staff, 2 European and 2 Amboynese companies, the total strength of which was 18 officers, 333 European and 256 native soldiers, besides 194 convicts.

Thus within five days of the attack being known at Batavia, not only were all losses most amply replaced, but the expedition itself had

Ampenan from the beach.
(behind the flagstaff is Headquarters).

assumed such increased proportions as to fully justify the Indian administration in being proud of the result.

Who can describe the activity that now reigned in that harbour so quiet and peaceful a few days before! Stately ships arrived in quick succession, pinnaces, boats, praos going backwards and forwards from the ships to the shore and from the shore to the ships, disem-

barking the personnel, all the baggage, and conveying the wounded and seriously ill on board the *Maetsuijcker*, carrying the victuals from the *Koningin Emma* and the *Prins Hendrik* to the land division, who on the arrival of the reinforcement returned on board their respective ships, to land once again during the operations against Arung-Arung on the 6th, 7th and 8th September.

The disembarking continues uninterruptedly and the sailors rendered invaluable assistance. The greatest difficulty was experienced with the heavy artillery and its equipment, but fortunately the sea was calm. The 12 c.m. A. and the 12 c.m. howitzers were slid down a couple of planks made fast to a connecting beam on the raft below, at a distance of 1 to 1.5 mètre from each other. The mortars were lowered in the same way, only with the planks so laid that the trunnions rested on them. On shore they were dragged in the same manner on beams over planks and rollers to the place where they were mounted. The wheels were taken off the gun-carriages; and they were also slipped down from the vessels on beams and as soon as they reached the shore the wheels were put on again.

Special care had to be bestowed on the ammunition; now-a-days it can be placed on the lighters in the cases in which it is packed and the cases afterwards carried ashore by two or four men; sometimes the cases were let down from the ship's side on rollers being held on each side by gunners.

But it was not only in the harbour that unusual animation prevailed, the bivouac too presented an extraordinary scene of restless activity in these early days of September. No sooner had the fresh troops landed than they were immediately set to work, first to improve the safety of the bivouac, and secondly to prevent their having time on hand to see much of their harassed comrades or to talk with them as such conversation would be sure to have a very depressing influence on the new-comers.

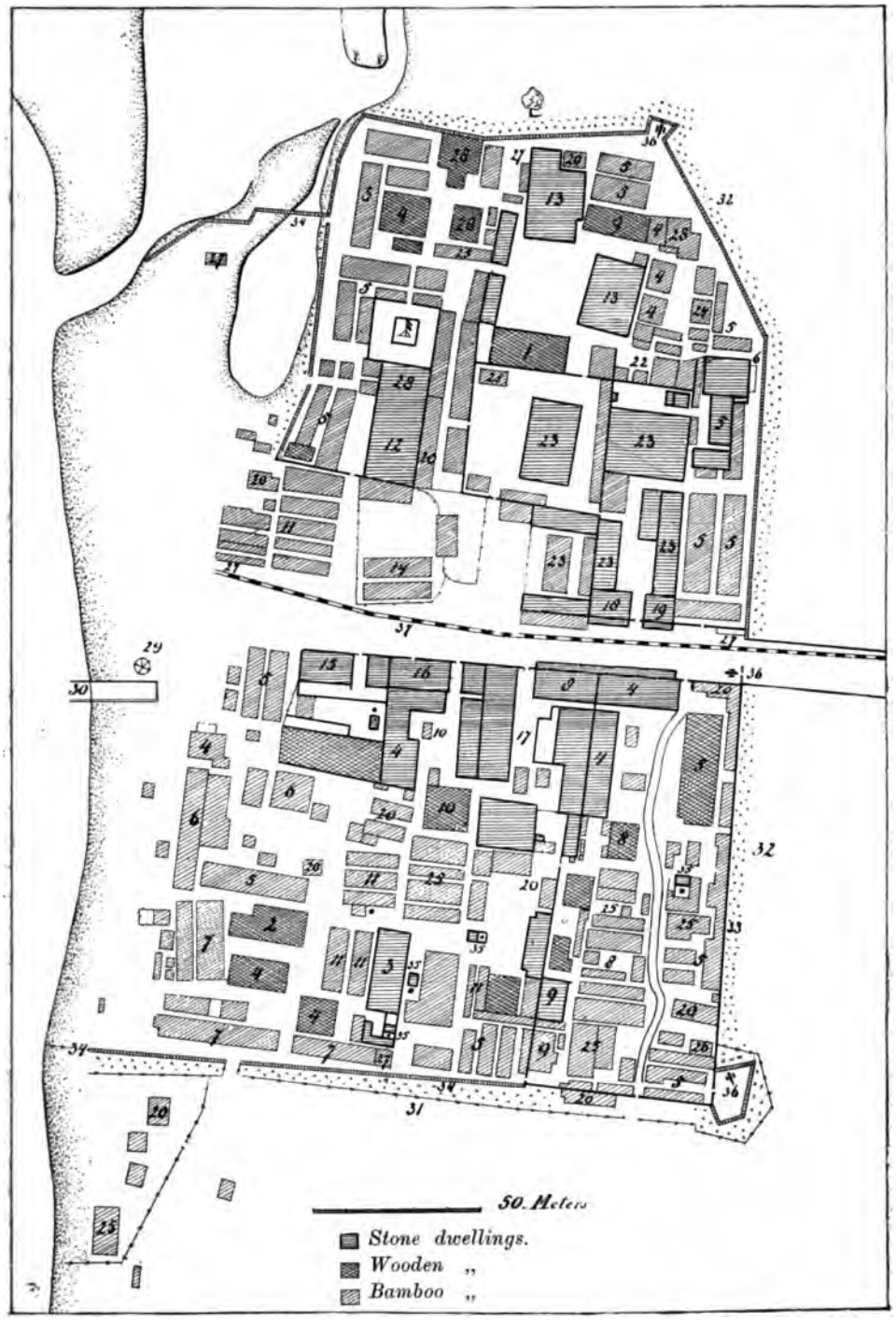
The high road to Mataram was barricaded with sand bags and tree trunks, and behind them were two 7.5 c.m. guns belonging to the navy, which commanded the entire road and also the Balinese kampong.

On the East side was raised a high stone wall and a parapet was built on the North and South sides. Bastions were constructed on the North East and on the South East salients and each was provided with a 7.5 c.m. gun.

The whole was enclosed by abattis and a wire fencing. The 9th and 2nd battalion were posted in bamboo huts to the south and the 6th and 7th to the north of the main road. The headquarters were in the old place and the hospital was in a roomy stone building in a nice open space, as is shown in the accompanying sketch.

The inclosure is somewhat limited for all the troops now collected here; but as soon as movement begins there will be ample accommodation for every one.

And now that the basis of operations was fully protected and a fine




Plan of the camp at Ampenan.

1. Commander-in-chief.
2. Second in command.
3. Division office.
4. Officers.
5. Infantry.
6. Naval brigade.
7. Barissan (Madurese levies).
8. Cavalry.
9. Artillery.
10. Engineers.
11. Convicts.
12. Transport stores.
13. Ammunition magazine.
14. Supply stores.
15. Stores of clothing.
16. Engineer store.
17. Commissary.
18. Red Cross'quarters.
19. 'Self Help.'
20. Kitchens.
21. Telegraph.
22. Subordinate Staff.
23. Hospitals.
24. Post office.
25. Stables.
26. Dispensary.
27. Guard House.
28. Offices.
29. Band tent.
30. Naval commander.
31. Wire fencing.
32. Abattis.
33. Stonewall 3.5 mètr high.
34. Breastwork, 1.8 m high.
35. Bathing places.
36. 7.5 c.M. Gun.
37. Decauville line.

force, provided with everything needful, was available, an advance presented no obstacle.

To ensure success two or three more precautionary measures were taken.

First of all an appeal was made to the Sassaks for their co-operation. Political reasons had stepped in to prevent this earlier, but now that the Lombock government was our avowed enemy, there was every reason why the Sassak population should share in our action against our common enemy.

A number of trusted Sassak chiefs were furnished with guns and ammunition from the magazine at Ampenan while the Resident went to the East coast on the 8th Sept. on the *Argus*, in order to discuss with the chiefs a plan of attack against the Balinese.

His reception here, as well as on the North coast where he proceeded later, was very favorable and great numbers of men came up from Praja and other Sassak districts. But although there was not actually any cause for complaint in their conduct, it certainly is a fact that they left us to do the most dangerous and disagreeable part of the work, from which they were to derive so much benefit.

It they did not render much practical service in the way of fighting—they were so undisciplined that their own chiefs had but little influence over them—still they were useful in other ways, while the efforts of the Balinese by money bribes and promises were ineffectual in inducing them to desert us; their innate hatred for their former rulers was too deep-rooted.

As a further attempt to bring about different views amongst the Sassaks, we cannot help referring to the fact concerning the Mohammedan son of Anak Agoeng K'Toet, called Datoe Pangeran, who in the beginning of September took refuge with fifteen of his followers in the arms of the well-known chief of Praja, Goeroe Bangkol, alleging as his reason that he had fled from Balinese territory to be with his own co-religionists.

All our endeavour to get possession of the prince's son failed. Our written instructions to send Datoe Pangeran to Ampenan under a strong escort remained as unheeded by Goeroe Bangkol, as did our summons to him to come himself. Controller Engelberg met with no farther success when he was despatched to Praja; Goeroe Bangkol informed him that he could not possibly leave Praja during the present state of affairs and further more that Datoe Pangeran feared his life would be in danger if he went; at last he said point-blank that he did not intend to deliver up the prince nor did he mean to go to Ampenan himself either.

The only result of Engelberg's mission was that Mami Sapian, nephew of Goeroe Bangkol, returned with him to Ampenan.

Later on we shall see the part played behind the scenes by our friend Gusti Djilantik and how his influence was brought to bear on the Praja chief. The second measure consisted in mobilising the Madurese corps of Bangkallan. Out of this corps, composed of 4 companies, 18 officers

and 684 soldiers strong, three companies were formed; in addition to 14 officers and 437 soldiers, the instructors, Captain Otken of the infantry and two sergeants, and also 3 lieutenants and 27 men belonging to the infantry, besides the necessary staff of the medical service and transport were attached to it. This corps set out for Lombock on the 15th September under Raden Majang Koro, whose acquaintance we have already made.

## VII.

### OPERATIONS FOR THE SIEGE OF MATARAM.

The operations were now in full swing.

On the 4th September a scouting party went out in a N. E. direction, and like those who went out on the 30th August, they were able to see that the enemy was throwing up breastworks, beginning near the dessa Aroeng-Aroeng in a Southerly direction.

Before however attempting to destroy these defences, it was necessary for us to occupy the Sassak kampong of Kaleh, on the left bank of the river Antjar, and from there we could enfilade the enemy's line. *

This kampong was taken without loss on the 5th September. It was found that the breastworks of the Balinese had no rear-face.

There could be no question of enfilading. Still it was perfectly easy to do some sharp shooting against the enemy's line.

So this point was occupied by 2 infantry companies of the 9th battalion (Major Scheuer) with a section of field artillery.

"Soldier of the Topographical department."

That same day, two 12 c.m. B. L. guns escorted by a company of infantry were placed in battery against the enemy's position, in a small Dewa-temple, directly East of Capitan and West of the road, since destroyed.

It was decided that the attack should take place on the morning of the

* The whole plan of attack during the further course of the struggle was settled beforehand with maps. This great advantage was due to lieutenant van der Zwaan of the survey corps.

6th under the command of Colonel Swart with his battalion, the 2nd, supported by the 7th (Major Van Blommestein) and the two remaining companies of the 9th, as also by the field artillery and the engineers.

The 6th battalion remained behind with the naval brigade to protect the bivouac.

We will quote the orders that were issued to the 2nd battalion the day before the attack; they will show what precautions were to be taken in advancing:

"To-morrow morning at half past five the companies must be prepared for action against Aroeng-Aroeng.

"The soldiers will wear their marching kit without knapsacks, but they will carry their quilts and sling their great coats over their shoulders."

"Dry provisions of food for one day shall be carried in the haversacks."

"Coffee or tea in the field flasks."

"Each company will take its own pioneer equipment, as well as reserve ammunition cases, containing 400 cartridges; every man was carrying 60."

"To each company are allotted 4 'tandoes.'"

"With the staff of the battalion will move 30 tandoes; and for each company 8 cases of spare ammunition are available.

"Breakfast is to consist of half a loaf, butter and cheese (or mince or sardines) and coffee, besides rice and smoked meat.

"A dram will be given to each man before starting."

After a heavy preliminary discharge of the artillery's guns, the regular attack was opened at half past ten. The advance was made cautiously and as much under cover as possible. Not a shot was fired by the enemy. At the sound of the first shots they had lost heart, and retreated from the position they had used such strenuous efforts to fortify, leaving behind them a large supply of arms amongst which were several repeating guns.

The only sign of life that was given was the discharge of about four cannon shots from the Western entrance to Mataram; and it is probable that they used one of the field guns we had been obliged to leave behind. The projectiles went however straight into the sea.

Thus it came about that we were enabled, without any loss, to occupy the stronghold of our enemy. And now we were able to appreciate how strong the position was. The road was cut between Ampenan and Aroeng-Aroeng. Behind the chief line of defence, half way to Aroeng-Aroeng, there was a second parapet about six feet high right across the road. There were others in and around the kampong itself, behind the strong Dewa-temple.

A great deal of pains and labour had been bestowed upon the main position. This extended from the S. W. angle of Aroeng-Aroeng in a line running from North to South, to nearly as far as the river Antjar. It consisted of a clay parapet 2 mètres high, one mètre thick at the top and 2 mètres thick at the base and it was perforated with hundreds of holes in which were placed hollow bamboo stems, through which to fire.

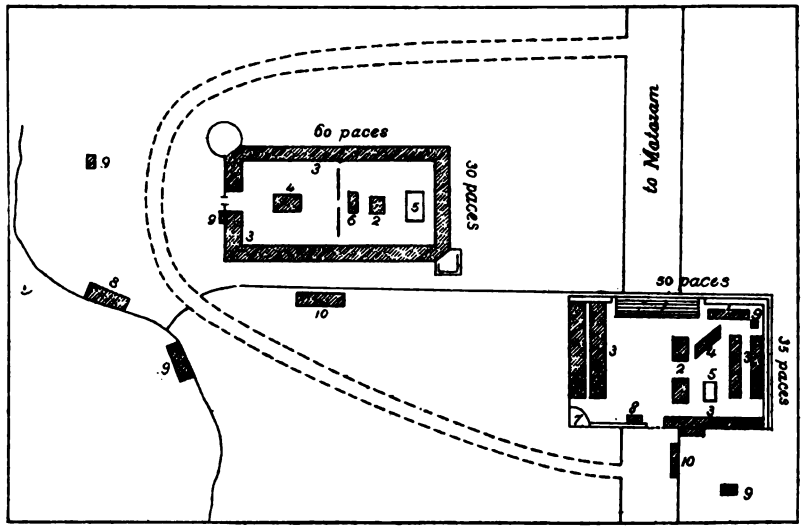
These loopholes were made in two rows, the upper one at the height of a man's chest and slanting downwards; the lower one at the height

of the hip and constructed horizontally. The loopholes on the wings were slanting to the right and to the left towards the centre.

Had the enemy counted on a repetition of the drama of Tjakra?

The Dewa-temple was occupied by two companies and one section of field artillery under the command of Colonel Swart.

In the interest of future action, the chief goal of which was of course Mataram, the next few days were spent in constructing a fortified post and in preparations for placing the battering-guns. The two 12 c.m. B. L. guns, which were no longer required at Kapitan were brought over, and on the 8th September were brought two 20 c.m. mortars and on the 12th two 12 c.m. guns. So that on that day there were in position four 12 c.m. guns, two mortars and two field pieces; besides the captain in command, there were two officers, five subordinate officers, 5 corporals and 30 soldiers of the garrrison artillery.




Plan of Aroeng-Aroeng.

1. Siege battery. 2. Officers' quarters. 3. Men's quarters. 4. Provisions. 5. Ammunition (a small stone building). 6. Company offices. 7. Barbette. 8. Guard. 9. Latrines. 10. Kitchens.
The breastwork of the S. W. line of fortification in which was the siege battery, was principally composed of klapper and pinang trunks laid flat. The Dewa-temple formed the line of defence to the N. E.

Before however attempting to attack Mataram in front, they followed the same road as before in order to try and seize the important kampongs on the south, viz., Pasinggahan and Pagasangan. If we obtained possession of these points, then we should command all the roads on the East side, to Mataram and Tjakra, and the south; and we should obtain a fresh and excellent basis of operations against the chief object of Balinese power.

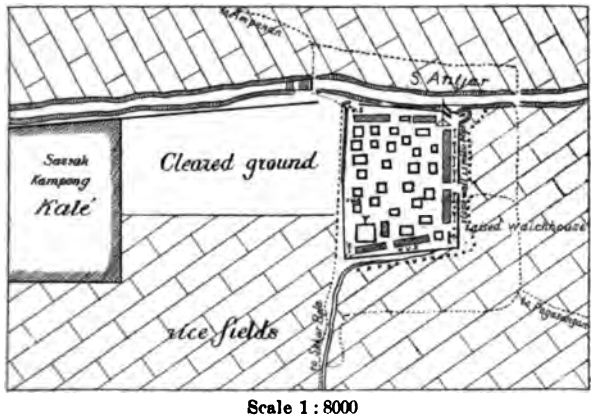
But the capture of these extensive kampongs, 1500 métres long by 1000 métres broad and intersected by a multiplicity of complicated walls, was not to be such an easy matter.

Was it not to be feared that the enemy would take advantage of our action in the South East to make an attack against our bivouac in the North East? On the 11th September a scouting party was sent out to gather information on that head.

An advance was made in the direction of Rembega with six companies and a section of mountain artillery; the Balinese had fled from all the dessas and no hostilities were experienced; at the very first shot the Sassaks, who had remained behind at Rembega, hoisted the white flag. Ampenan was reached without let or hindrance by way of Aroeng-Aroeng.

On the following day a heavy artillery fire was opened against Pasinggahan and Pagasangan from our positions at Kaleh and Aroeng-Aroeng. At Kaleh the engineers threw a bridge across the river Antjar and this post was the same day further fortified with two field guns and firing was directed against Poenia, which is a Southern division of Mataram.

During the night of 12th—13th September a few salvos were discharged against Pagoetan, a Kampong lying South East, to prevent any help being brought in from that direction.



Scale 1 : 8000

The 13th September is the day fixed for the attack against Pagasangan and Pasinggahan.

The *Koningin Emma*, as well as the *Tromp* and the *Borneo* having come into the harbour the previous day, received orders from the Commander-in-chief to open fire on Mataram and its environs so as to prevent help coming from the North. The two first named threw each 100 shells of 17 c.m. and the *Borneo* sixty 10.5 c.m. shells.

The naval Brigade of the *Koningin Emma* and the *Tromp*, 325 men under command of 1st class Lieutenant Van Wessem were disembarked in order to occupy the bivouac and from the following day they constituted the permanent garrison of Ampenan. For still greater security there were left three companies of the 6th Battalion and the cavalry. The latter supported by a section of infantry made a reconnoissance of the districts to N. E.

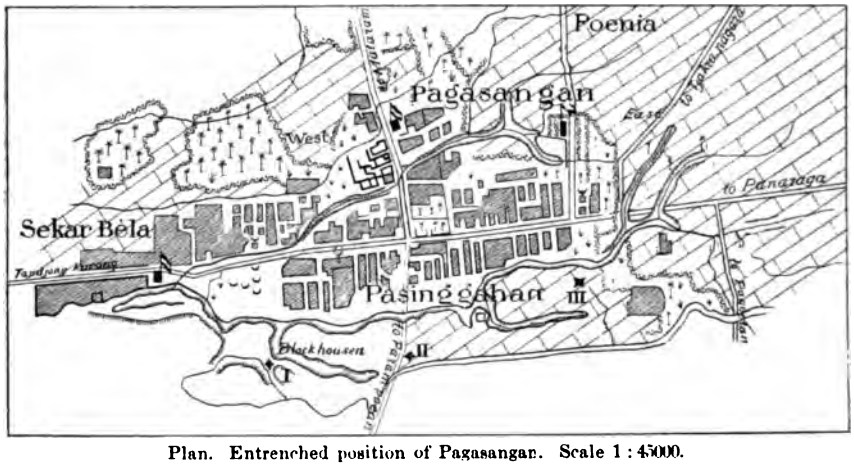
At six o'clock in the morning a column was ready to advance under colonel Swart and it was composed of the 2nd and 9th infantry battalion, one section of mountain artillery and one of field artillery, besides two sections of engineers with the necessary Transport and ambulance. The route to be followed was across Kaleh to the sawah plain, lying to the South East of the kampong.

A second column composed of two companies of the 7th battalion, a section of mountain artillery and a detachment of engineers, under Major van Blommestein was to protect the right wing of the attacking column against being surrounded by the hostile forces. With this object in view this column marched to the sawah, south of Batoe Ringgit and then followed a more easterly line, until it took up its position opposite the cemetery in the Western division of Pasinggahan.

Major Hamerster was appointed staff officer of the first column and Lieutenant de Greve of the second. The chief of the staff remained with the Commander-in-chief, who directed the whole movement.

During the advance march the guns at Aroeng-Aroeng and Kaleh were to be directed against the kampongs. When this became dangerous for the advancing column, then South Mataram and Poenia were to be brought under fire instead.

Shots were fired from the west border of the kampong of Paga-




Plan. Entrenched position of Pagasangan. Scale 1 : 45000.

sangan as the troops advanced; these were replied to by a few vollies and the column then took the kampong by storm.

The enemy was unprepared for attack in this quarter and retreated eastwards. Only here and there a few Balinese armed with spears remained behind in the houses, but they were soon driven away.

Leaving in the rear a reserve of two companies, the section of field artillery and part of the train, the column advanced across the kampongs in an Easterly direction. There was such a labyrinth of walls however, that in order to avoid a repetition of Tjakra it was deemed advisable, before advancing further, to make quite secure the positions already taken and to shake by artillery fire the strong posts still held by the enemy.

A favorable spot for a strong position was found in the Dewa-temple, situated at the northern exit of Pagasangan, close to the more westerly of the two roads which run from this dessa to Mataram. The temple

was put in a state of defence and occupied by three companies of the 9th battalion and two mountain guns.

The remaining troops of the main column were posted outside the Dewa-temple for the protection of the workers; the convicts attached to the column were told off to clear the ground as much as possible. The fortification—called Pagasangan-West– was victualled for two days from Kaleh, while the troops returned to Ampenan at half past five in the evening via Kaleh, excepting of course those in occupation, leaving there two guns.

What had happened during this interval to Van Blommestein's column?

While the section of mountain artillery kept up fire against the North side of Pagoetan (S.E. of Pasinggahan) in order to prevent support coming from the Balinese on that side, the column in order to maintain connection with the first column, pushed through to Pasinggahan on the west side and suddenly met with heavy opposition on the south of the high road leading to Tjakra, through the kampong of Tandjong-Karang. It was quite evident that the Dewa-temple at this point was strongly fortified by the Balinese.

A remarkable thing occurred here; while that part of the kampong situated on the south side of the road was powerfully held by the Balinese, on the north side we met a host of the Sassak population, strengthened by a couple of thousand armed men from Praja, so that these two opposing elements were really only separated from each other by the road and the walls running alongside. These latter were however maintaining an attitude of non-interference!

An unsuccesful effort was made by Scherer, the director of native administration to prevail upon these Sassaks to knock down the walls in the rear and flank of the column as it advanced—which would have been most advantageous.

The Sassaks refused to accede to his demand so long as they had the Balinese in the kampong fronting them—the Balinese being ever so much better equipped for fighting, the decision of the Sassaks may perhaps be excused.

Major Van Blommestein sent out a reconnoîtring party under Lieutenant de Greve to discover how matters lay at the Dewa-temple; but no result was obtained. True, they came within 75 mètres of it, still the maze of walls made anything like a satisfactory survey impossible. Although our men were sent under cover of a couple of sections of infantry, they were forced by the heavy firing from the temple to retreat to the cemetery in the Western division of Pasinggahan.

All attempts to get the Dewa-temple under well-directed artillery fire failed.

Appreciating at once the importance of this point, the Commander-in-chief sent a company of the 9th Battalion to the assistance of Major van Blommestein, but still the temple remained impregnable.

In face of such stubborn resistance, the Commander-in-chief well knowing, that to take the temple by main force would entail serious losses, decided upon a different course of action.

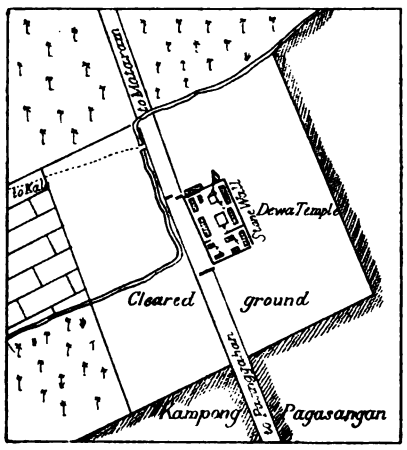
It was however too late to carry it out that day; so at five o'clock the general order to march home was given.

The company of the 9th battalion, despatched to assist Major van Blommestein, remained stationed at Kaleh.

Our losses on that day were 2 killed and 7 European wounded. The 14th September was chiefly spent in fortifying our situation at Pagasangan West and in clearing the ground, which was achieved with very slight loss on our side, by about a hundred convicts and under cover of two companies of the 6th and two of the 7th battalion under command of Captain Christan.

Owing to the limited space the garrison was reduced to two companies of the 9th battalion, and the two other companies of this battalion relieved the garrison at Kaleh.

The Sassaks worked at a road from Kaleh to Sekar Bela, constructed a couple of bridges across the aqueducts and levelled the ground, so as to facilitate the transport of the heavy loads on the following day.



Pagasangan West. Scale 1:8000.

It having become apparent on the 13th September that the difficulties in connection with taking the strong kampongs by storm were too great, it was decided further to shake the enemy by more powerful artillery fire and in order to accomplish this, it was necessary to find a suitable place for the batteries at Sekar Bela.

At six o'clock in the morning of the 15th September a column advanced under command of Colonel Swart, to whom Lieutenant de Greve was attached as staff-officer and it was composed of the 2nd battalion and one company of the 7th, one section of mountain artillery and two sections of engineers, besides a few orderlies.

The column was to march to Sekar Bela through Kaleh, where one company of infantry and a section of engineers were to be left. This company had to transport a 20 cm. mortar (which was to be conveyed by a second column to Kaleh) to the new post which was to be established. The section of engineers were to assist the second column in crossing over certain aqueducts (by means of a portable bridge now at Kaleh) between Kapitan and Kaleh.

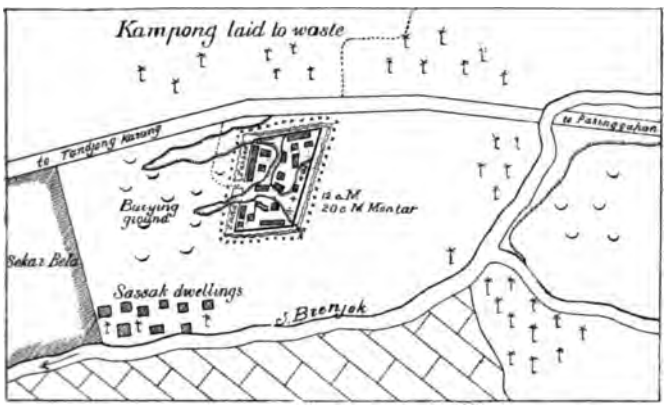
The column itself had to take with it for the new fortification a 12 c.m. howitzer, which had been transported to Kaleh the previous day.

Arriving at Sekar Bela at 8 a. m. Colonel Swart's column took up its position on the West front of Pasinggahan and a small cemetry on the East of Batoe Ringit and South of the main road to Tandjong Karang, was chosen for the position of the entrenched artillery. Very little

disturbance was experienced and after a few vollies the protecting troops were left unmolested and the work continued without interruption and when the company that had been left behind at Kaleh arrived with the 20 c.m. mortar at half past nine, firing was able to be begun an hour later with the two guns in an Easterly direction.

The 2nd column, consisting of the 7th battalion and a section of Cohorn-mortars under Major Van Blommestein had meanwhile started from Ampenan and gone through Kaleh to our fortified position in West Pagasangan, and there he had found some sharp firing going on, nor did the Balinese desist until they became aware of fire being opened from the new post at Sekar Bela. Major Van Blommestein remained that day at Pagasangan to help in strengthening the fortification of the Dewa-temple.

In consequence of information that the Balinese were contemplating an attack against our coast bivouac, one of the two companies of the 9th battalion at Kaleh was despatched to assist Ampenan, where besides the naval division 200 men strong, there were three other companies.




Sekar Béla. Scale: 168.000.

Meanwhile the firing from the new post was kept up and the section of mountain artillery also took part in it as soon as it was perceived that a large concourse of Balinese had arrived at Pagoetan.

The Commander-in-chief with his Chief of the Staff had in the interval gone to Sekar Béla, from which place the enemy was being beaten backwards slowly but surely—though he still held out obstinately in the eastern division amongst the complicated and intricate walls. The Sassaks, who had gained more courage since the morning, made an unsuccessful attempt to push through, but were driven back, with some loss in killed and wounded.

As the artillery fire had not yet had the desired effect on the defenders and as the day was rather advanced, the Commander-in-chief decided to return to Ampenan, as fair progress had been made with the additional reinforcements.

Here, as at Kaleh, one company and a half was left in occupation. Leaving the two Cohorn-mortars at Pagasangan West, Major Van Blommestein also returned to Ampenan.

Meanwhile a welcome reinforcement of 650 convicts had been brought there on the ship *Gouverneur-Generaal Jacob.*

And the next day witnessed the arrival of the *Generaal Pel* with 3 companies of Madurese under the command of their experienced old commander, Raden Majang Koro.

On the 16th September a great deal of time was devoted to clearing the ground round the scene of conflict. West Pagasangan and outskirts being thickly wooded, this work was of great importance, for the trees afforded cover to the enemy, who were thus able to afflict many losses upon us.

A strong division of convicts was told off for this purpose, under cover of a column 6 companies strong under Major van Blommestein with Captain Willemstijn as chief of the staff—but twice during the day the enemy's fire so was severe, that the work had to be temporarily suspended.

Victuals and ammunition were brought in and all the final preparations for the great attack of the morrow were completed.

Early next morning two columns advanced towards that part of the kampongs still in possession of the Balinese.

The first was under command of Colonel Swart and had for starting-point Sekar Bela from which place it marched in an Easterly direction and the second was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Scheuer, marching in a Southerly direction from Pagasangan; the columns were to meet and continue the onward march in an Easterly direction together. A reserve of 200 convicts under captain Schmidhamer was ready at Sekar Bela to clear the ground behind the troops, as soon as they had forced their way through the kampongs.

The columns were supplied with an exceptional number of stretchers, as severe resistance was anticipated.

Captain Creutz Lechleitner's two companies for the present formed a reserve to cover the right wing from an attack from Pagoetan.

The Commander-in-chief, with whom was the chief of the staff, directed all the operations.

Since daybreak the fire of the artillery had been preparing the attack: from Sekar Bela against the kampongs; from Arong-Arong against south Mataram on the road from Tjakra to Pagasangan; from Kaleh against Poenia, to prevent as far as possible, help being sent to the enemy from those places.

At 8 a. m. the actual attack was begun. A furious beating of the tom-tom summoned to battle every Balinese man capable of carrying arms; and strong re-inforcements came hurrying in from Tjakra. Both columns were soon engaged in a hot fusillade; the hostile projectiles fly far away above their heads,—it is fortunate that the Balinese were shooting too high,—the sharp hissing sounds of the bullets from their repeaters being drowned by the fire of our skirmishers, the thunder of our volleys, the roar of our big guns.

Gallantly and rapidly our lines advanced through hedges and shrubs, over walls and thickets, through the gaps and breaches made by our guns from Sekar Bela. Bit by bit, but always with the same élan,

the Balinese posts were taken one after another. Within an hour and a half of the first charge being made, our troops became masters of the two kampongs; the strong Dewa-temple, with walls so thick that it cost the engineers many hours of labour to destroy them with dynamite, was deserted by the enemy, who retreated carrying as many of their dead and wounded as they could to Tjakra Nagara.

A great number of the killed had to be left behind in the dessas; and many Balinese concealed themselves in the houses. Our troops however did not trouble to hunt them out, everything was given to the flames. Sheets of fire blazed forth from thousands of dwellings, sheds and barns, destroying everything in their furious course: household goods, domestic animals, bodies alike of dead and living; and in the midst of these devouring flames, which scorch and singe our troops, * appear from all sides crowds of hungry Sassaks, who, quite in their element, dived about in and around the burning embers to secure what booty they could.

Great and enthusiastic was the joy of our men at such a great success with so few casualties, only four men were wounded; and proportionately great was the distress of the Balinese at their defeat: they had had to fly from one of their strongest posts and their losses in killed were by no means trifling – from information brought in by spies the number was 250—amongst whom Gusti Loeki, a son of the deceased Madé, Anak Agoeng G'dé Poetoeh, besides 50 missing.

Confidence in our strength was restored, the belief of our allies in our power was revived, and the hopes of the enemy received a severe check. A great multitude of Balinese retreated to the North and sought shelter in the mountains. As soon as the kampongs of Pagoetan and Soekadana, S. East of Pasinggahan, were deserted by the enemy, the Sassaks set fire to them.

Ought the Commander-in-chief to have taken advantage of the terror we had inspired and pushed forward on Mataram at once?

The rules of tactics lay down the necessity of improving a victory, and taking all the circumstances into consideration, it is not improbable that our troops might have entered Mataram at the same time as the retreating foe and have at once become master of this important point.

The Commander-in-chief however preferred to be on the safe side; after all that had already happened he was anxious to avoid even the chance of defeat.

And his decision is quite comprehensible—many roads lead to Rome and the Commander-in-chief is proved to have chosen wisely.

The first thing to be done was to make ourselves secure in our new possessions and raise new entrenchments from which Mataram and Tjakra Nagara can be cannonaded.

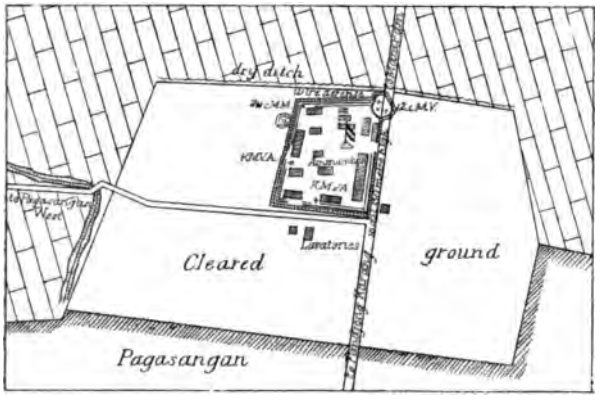
* The heat of the fire was at times so intense that Scheuer's column was forced to take a by-path thus losing connection with Swart's column. For that reason the Commander-in-chief prohibited the place being set on fire on the occasion of the attack against Tjakra.

As soon as our men were masters of the East front of Pagasangan, the Commander-in-chief ordered a new post to be constructed on the main road to Mataram, on the North of the little ravine.

The second column was instructed to execute this plan and was covered by the first, who were stationed in the South East of Pagasangan, to prevent an assault from that side.

All the available convicts, as well as the Sassaks from Sekar Bela, North-Pasinggahan and Praja were meanwhile employed in levelling the ground and clearing away the debris. This was no small task with such a labyrinth of walls and Controller Engelenberg had the greatest difficulty in keeping the Sassaks to their work and even their chief, Mami Sapian, seemed to have little or no authority over them.

As soon as the new fort was far enough advanced for occupation, the Commander-in-chief returned to Ampenan, followed by Swart's column. Captain Scheuer was left at the new station with 2 companies of the 9th battalion, with one section of field artillery and one section of mountain artillery (both without horses), the field artillery from Kalé besides one section of engineers. Owing to the dangerously advanced situation and on account of the still rather elementary arrangements Captain Willemstijn stayed that night with Major Scheuer.




Pagasangan East. Scale : 1 to 8000.

At the Dewa-temple, West-Pagasangan, under Captain Christan, were the two remaining companies of the 9th Battalion with one (unhorsed) section of mountain artillery and one section of Cohorn-mortars, (without mules). At Kaleh, under Major van Blommestein 2 companies of the 7th battalion and one (unhorsed) section of field artillery; at Sekar Bela Captain Tuinenberg with 1½ company of last named battalion. This post could not be left before the clearance at Pasinggahan and Pagasangan had made more progress and until the new fort was quite ready. Finally at Arong-Arong there was Major Trackers with 2 companies of the 6th battalion and 1 (unhorsed) section of field guns.

In the next few days we shall not follow the movements of the troops in consecutive order. We will only mention that under strong cover the work of demolishing the kampongs was daily pursued by hundreds of convicts, and also by Sassaks under Controller Engelenberg; the transport of victuals, ammunition and material to the various stations was continued, and great assistance in this was received from the naval Brigade and the Madurese troops and finally the fortified post at East Pagasangan was completed. On the 19th September 150 convicts trans-

ported there three 12 c.m. howitzers; on the 21th one 20 c.m. mortar and on the 25th one 12 c.M. B. L. gun was conveyed there, as well as an artillery force of 2 officers, 3 sergeants, 6 corporals and 19 soldiers.

In order to prevent an approach to Pagasangan or Pasinggahan on the South, Captain Willemstijn selected a point to the South of the latter kampong where three small forts were constructed, each to be occupied by a section of infantry. During the night of 19th—20th September an attempt was made to regain possession of Pagoetan, this design was however thwarted by the Sassaks, who next morning presented the Commander-in-chief with the head ot the late chief of the village, Ida Njoman Karang.

The wind was beginning to point to the approach of the west monsoon, so instructions were sent out to all the posts to take every measure for improving the quarters for the troops and pay great attention to the ammunition stores.

The condition of all the roads required attending to also and the Sassaks were put to work to do all the necessary repairs.

On the 22nd September the small forts for the three sections of infantry were ready for occupation.

At about half past four that morning soon after a round had been fired from the 12 c.m. howitzer at East Pagasangan against Tjakra Nagara, two enormous columns of fire lighted up the air, followed by such a tremendous shock that it was felt at Ampenan.

A powder magazine near the poeri had been blown up, causing a terrible conflagration at Tjakra, and of course our troops took advantage of the terrible confusion to keep up incessant firing in the same direction, so as to prevent the enemy's being able to extinguish the flames.

From information brought in by the spies the cannonading was afterwards directed from Arong-Arong and Pagasangan East chiefly against the East of Mataram and the N.W. of Tjakra, where the enemy had fled from the devouring flames.

The same day saw the completion of the work at Pagasangan and Pasinggahan, which places were levelled to the ground and the small forts were also ready to receive their respective sections from West Pagasangan.

Amidst all the laborious toil of these last few days, the physical condition of the men kept up marvellously; the sick list was as low as four to five per cent of the men and the most general complaint was dysentery.

At the time fixed for operations against Mataram, the distribution of troops and guns outside Ampenan was as follows:

At East Pagasangan: 2 companies of infantry, 2 field guns with their detachments, but without horses, one detachment of garrison-artillery to serve three 12 c.m. howitzers, one 12 c.m. B. L. gun and one 20 c.M. mortar; at West Pagasangan: one platoon of infantry with one unhorsed mountain gun in each of the three blockhouses, one section of infantry.

At Kaleh: one company of infantry with 2 horsed field guns; at Arong-Arong: 2 companies of infantry, 2 unhorsed field guns, one detachment of fortress-artillery to serve four 12 c.m. guns and two 20 c.m. mortars.

We must first see what was going on outside the actual area of the battle field.

Besides sheer fighting the art of war resorts to other means of harassing the enemy and precipitating his defeat and amongst these is the cutting off of his supplies, and preventing the importation of all contraband of war.

By decree of 13th September more stringent clauses were added to the June proclamation regarding the imports to and exports from and conveyance through Lombock of such contraband. All import or export trade was prohibited on the West and North coast from Labuan Tring to Ayer Putih for all private individuals, excepting in special cases where licenses were held by Sassaks or Macassars.

"Article I. All import and export to or from the North or West coast of the island of Lombock is prohibited, excepting it be for the requirements of the country or by special leave of the military or civil authority, who is invested with the fullest civil power in this island.

Article II. Infraction of this law, embodied in Article I, will be punished with a fine of from one thousand to fifteen hundred guilders (florins) and confiscation of the goods, with which it has been sought to infringe the law."

The vessels and material (the latter in so far as they are not of a nature to be confiscated on other grounds), by means of which violation or attempted violation of the law has been committed, may be seized to pay the fine and to defray the expenses of the legal process.

Attempt to infringe the law carried with it the same penalty as infringement itself; (art. III) in case of infringement the masters of the ships, or in default of these, all the passengers and crew were held guilty, etc., (art. IV).

On the 5th October still further and more severe clauses were added, it having become evident during the progress of operations that communication between the Balinese kampongs on the N. W. coast with the centres of Balinese power at Mataram and Tjakra (across the Punikan mountains), was very much easier than had been imagined.

While the squadron was cruising round the West and North coast, the Sassaks of Praja and Sekar Bela were appointed to block the road South of Pasinggahan in the direction of Kediri, and the Sassaks on the East coast were to prevent all transport of rice and contraband of war in that district. In order to keep a close watch over these people and to see what was going on amongst them, Controller Engelenberg was sent to the East coast, where he established himself at Teros. On the West coast the civil staff was increased and strengthened by a European commissioner, having in view the same objects as Engelenberg.

Further, the Sassaks were incited to possess themselves of all the rice

they could lay hands on and carry it off to their own kampongs, a behest which it was unnecessary to repeat, they being only too willing to fall in with the proposal, not only thereby to coerce the Balinese, but as a preventive against the prolonged famine which was bound to follow from the non-cultivation of the rice fields.

There was only a very limited district on the East of Tjakra, towards Lingsar, from which the Balinese were now able to receive supplies of rice; unfortunately, for the present, our endeavours to induce the Sassaks of Batu Klian to assume the offensive remained without effect.

Armed Balinese.

But on the other hand they were active in the North and on the 14th September burned to the ground the princely palace of Gunung Sari.

The kampong of Tandjong, where the Balinese had accumulated large quantities of rice, was bombarded on the 16th and 17th September and on the second day the place was a prey to the flames; satisfied with the result the "*Bali*" ceased firing, after which the friendly part of the

Sassak population broke into the kampong and finished the work of annihilation, after carrying off no end of arms, amongst which 6 native cannon, with ammunition.

As we have already mentioned, the civil authorities were kept busy with our allies and besides this there was another cause for continuous supervision over the native element.

There is no doubt that an elaborate system of espionage was kept up by the Balinese, which proves that the prince must have possessed a well-filled treasury.

It required endless and incessant superintendence to keep watch over the swarms of Arabs and Chinese who came loitering round the camps with their wares for sale, and over those Sassaks, who had lived among the Balinese, and who partly from fear and partly from love of gain or from relationship, were in favor of the ruling race.

Several of these were arrested, but eventually released from lack of evidence against them; one solitary one, against whom the proofs were overwhelming, was hanged.

As it was essential that we should not be duped by these native spies, and at the same time imperative that we should be informed by them of the enemy's plans, it was necessary that this special branch of the service should be confided to some person eminently fitted for the purpose and the recorder of Batavia, Heer Valette was appointed to the post.

We have already seen that precautions against the West monsoon were taken as regards the bivouacs and the inland lines of communication; the insecurity of the harbour at Ampenan during that season has already been referred to, so it was necessary to provide against being cut off from communication with the warships and the Indian government and the outside world generally. Of course a pier would have been the simplest and best plan, but we have already seen that insurmountable obstacles had prevented the construction of one, long before our arrival.

Would it not have been feasible to open up communication between Ampenan and the sheltered little bay of Labuan Tring, by means of a Decauville train?

Captain Willemstijn was commissioned to go and examine the bay; he went on the steamship *Cycloop* and made a survey in a Northern direction. He was accompanied by the well-known kampong chief of Ampenan—whose treachery was still unknown at headquarters—and was most assiduously assisted by him. Did he expect by this show of friendship to turn aside all suspicions from himself? If so, he was mightily mistaken, for shortly after Captain Willemstijn's return, reports were received at Ampenan from Lindgreen, proving beyond doubt the chief's guilt, and in consequence he was immediately arrested and conveyed to Surabaya.

The chart drawn by Lieutenant Van der Zwaan as a result of Captain Willemstijn's survey only went to demonstrate the impracticability of the

intended place. It was soon apparent that from one cause or another the obstacles were insuperable.

So there was no alternative left but to come back to the idea of constructing a pier at Ampenan. An examination made by Major Marcella of the engineers, who had come over purposely to study the question, showed the feasibility of the plan, so it was now resolved to carry it out.

In anticipation of the interruption of communication between the posts, certain to be caused by the West monsoon, an order was given to lay down lines of Decauville railway between the various points.

We must not omit to mention the offers of support offered to us by the Princes of South Celebes: the Princes of Goa, of Sidenreng, of Wadjoe and the Princess of Tanette, who all volunteered to send us auxiliary troops.

How were the Macassar princes concerned with Lombock? We have seen that in Chapter IV, in reviewing our early relations with them. Tradition—that powerful factor amongst the natives—according to the treaty of Bonay 1667, had decreed how they were to act in cases when we were threatened by any of those petty states, which might be included in this Bonay alliance.

The princes assembled their troops and led them to Macassar, the capital. Here were mustered 2000 Goa and 3000 Bugis soldiers, dressed in red jackets and short white trousers and armed with Remington rifles and all withdrew to a camp outside the town. The Bugis princes and princesses were received in audience by the Governor of Celebes and Dependencies, Van Braam Morris, and a company of infantry and a detachment of cavalry formed a guard of honour outside Government House.

Here they expressed their wish to stand by the Government and to avenge the treachery, which had raised indignation all through Celebes. The Government, much touched by this proof of friendship, left it to the judgment of the Commander-in-chief of the expeditionary army to reply to this disinterested proposal.

It is beyond doubt that the Macassar and Bugis auxiliaries might have rendered us invaluable services and the history of our Indian wars relates many instances where we have drawn no inconsiderable benefit from the troops of our allies. As they are, however, especially fitted for guerilla warfare their services were hardly needed in Lombock, as we had the Sassaks at our disposal for that.

Besides from a political standpoint it was undesirable to introduce a new element into the island and allow the Macassars to get mixed up with Lombock affairs and perhaps eventually gain too much influence.

The Government therefore in the name of the Commander-in-chief thanked them very politely for their kind offer; much disappointed, the auxiliaries were disbanded by the princes of Bugis and Macassar and taken back to their respective districts.

It is scarcely conceivable that the inhabitants of the capital were much disappointed or felt particularly grieved at the departure of these thousand warriors from Macassar!

## IX.

## CAPTURE OF MATARAM.

Now comes Mataram's turn! The day fixed for the attack, the 29th September, was kept a profound secret.

In order to mislead the enemy as to the real point of attack, demonstrations had been going on during the last two days towards the North East.

A column composed of a battalion and a half of infantry and a section of mountain artillery advanced on the 27th September towards Rembega, under command of General Segov.

At first they took up their position at Pagarakan and directed their fire against the kampong of Kemasan (see map) North of Mataram. Then they advanced to a point between Rembega and Karang Baru and took up a position facing east and again opened fire against Kemasan, as well as against Mondjok, the North Eastern division of Mataram.

Although the firing created great confusion, which was expressed by rapid movements and an incessant beating of the tom-tom, neither at Mataram nor at Tjakra did the Balinese leave the lines, so our column returned to the bivouac towards afternoon.

The same movements were repeated on the following day by the same column under General Segov, the right wing was flanked by the deep ravine at Karang Baru and the left wing was stationed at Rembega, and from these points they again opened fire against Kemasan.

The inhabitants of Rembega having informed the General that the Balinese had made a sally soon after our departure on the previous day, the column remained in position for a very long time in the hope that the enemy would make a fresh sally.

Once again there was considerable commotion at Mataram and the war drums were furiously beaten at Tjakra; still nothing further seemed to come of the intended sally. Our troops had started on their homeward march and the rear-guard was covered by the cavalry, when the latter suddenly perceived a division of Balinese, about 200 strong, rushing wildly amidst loud yells and shrieks to attack the troops.

The cavalry reported this to General Segov, who immediately despatched Staff-officer Willemstijn with instructions to the retiring troops at once to return and take up the position they had just left.

As soon as this order was carried out, not too hurriedly, but quickly, as if on parade, and the mountain artillery had come into action, fire was calmly opened once again on the Balinese.

Nothing daunted, the adversary advanced first in a compact body and then in less serried lines to within 90 yards of our troops; this attempt at resuming the offensive was doomed however to be both their first and last.

General Segov having given stringent orders that serious fighting was to be avoided, the enemy was not pursued and the troops returned to Ampenan.

What was it that led to this extraordinary advance on the part of the Balinese and actually headed by the Crown-Prince too?

The cause was a very mundane one, but one which oftener plays a more leading part in warfare than people are generally apt to admit, the stomach!

It appears that large kitchens had been established just outside Kemasan for victualling the garrison not belonging to Mataram; no small consternation was felt therefore when our bombardment was directed against this very vulnerable point on which the Balinese are so sensitive.

Late in the evening of the 28th, when the troops were confined to camp and no further outside communications was possible, they were made acquainted with the plan of attack against Mataram, which was timed to take place before sunrise on the following morning. All the necessary measures had been taken.

In the course of the day the *Prins Hendrik*, the *Borneo* and the *Bali*, which had been cruising along the coast, returned to the harbour of Ampenan. During the night their naval brigade come ashore. These, 200 strong, together with 3 companies of barisans and half a section of cavalry were to cover the basis of operation during the attack against Mataram. The naval brigade of the *Koningin Emma* and the *Tromp*, 240 strong, were to relieve the garrison of the principal posts: 90 men were told off for Arong-Arong, 100 for Kaleh and 50 for East Pagasangan.

Thus, for the struggle for Mataram, as many available troops as possible were mustered, viz., three and a half battalions of infantry, a section and a half of cavalry, two sections of field-artillery (the third was still at Kaleh), two and a half sections of mountain artillery (one was still at Pagasangan East), as well as three sections of engineers, train and ambulance. They were to advance in three columns: the main or attacking column, under Lt. Col. Trackers, consisting of the 6th and half the 7th battalion (Major van Blommestein) with artillery, train and ambulance and a section of engineers, were to march against the S. W. part of Mataram.

The right wing was to be covered by a column of 2 companies of the 9th battalion, 1 section of field-artillery train, ambulance and engineers, under Lt. Col. Scheuer, who is to take up position at Poenia to hinder the Balinese from sending assistance from Tjakra and to

await additional orders from the Commander-in-chief before pushing further forward. Colonel Swart with the 2nd battalion, artillery and engineers was to march on the left flank from Arong-Arong and follow the movements along the main road and effect an entry into Mataram from that side.

Finally, a reserve of 2 companies (the 2nd half of 7th battalion) remained temporarily with the artillery at Kaleh. With these were the Commander-in-chief and his staff.

Attached to the artillery of the various columns were gunners furnished with grenades.

The Second-in-Command as Commandant of the bivouac stayed behind at Ampenan.

Firing and cannonading both from the ships and the forts had been kept up uninterruptedly until two o'clock in the morning, from which time all was silence; the enemy might take his rest in peace.

Before 4 a.m., while it was yet quite dark the troops assembled on the high road from Ampenan and at a quarter past they marched to Arong-Arong and Kaleh. From this point the main column, with Captain Slangen's company as advance-guard, followed the little footpath on the right bank of the Antjar for nearly half an hour.

At about a couple of hundred yards distance from Mataram this path had to be abandoned and they proceeded along the bed of the river itself — at this part not quite 5 mètres wide, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mètre deep. This offered no very great difficulties, there being only a foot of water and in the deepest parts 20 inches. The river runs to the S. W. angle of Mataram and thence along the Southern front, formed by a wall, which was connected with the earthworks we have before referred to (from Arong-Arong to close to the S. Antjar).

As soon as the first company reached this wall, they were to try and force an entrance and take up their position, while the other companies were to spread out eastwards to the high road, which runs from South to North through Mataram.

As soon as the South front as far as the main road was taken, an advance was to be made in a northerly direction to the poeris at the cross-roads and these were to be occupied.

The marshalling of such a vast force and the march in the dark occupied more time than was expected and although such an early start had been made, it was broad daylight when the main column, cautiously moving along the bed of the S. Antjar reached the dangerous S. W. corner of Mataram.

The view was greatly obstructed by the dense growth of bamboos. Everything was as yet quiet. The hope was entertained of surprising the enemy. Suddenly an Amboynese soldier of the advance guard fired a shot—he had seen or fancied he had seen a Balinese through the shrubs. All chance of surprise was now at an end! In a moment the alarm had sounded at Mataram and a minute later the enemy occupied the wall, and fired point blank at our unprotected troops in the river.

While the vanguard responded to the fire, the next company under Captain Schreijner hurried past. A breakwater to prevent the overflowing of the Antjar was soon cleared away by the engineers, a few vollies were fired and then forward! Up against the wall went the section of Sub-lieutenant H. Valkenberg—himself at the head!

The struggle was short but sharp. True, our men, preceded by the young hero, succeeded in climbing the wall with scaling ladders * and in taking the enemy's position—but it was done at a heavy loss. Valkenberg was one of the first to pay for his courage with his life, Sub-lieutenant Granpré Molière was wounded, several soldiers and convicts fell too.

Now the town was entered and the real difficulties began. The complication of walls and passages of which Mataram was composed enforced very slow progress. Every wall had to be knocked down, breached or climbed to penetrate to the next homestead, but from behind every wall, from within every homestead, the enemy, who offered stubborn resistance, had to be driven away.

Still it was apparent, that misled by our demonstrations they were not prepared for attack in this quarter, for in many of the dwellings there were still women and children. Not to fall into our hands many "kris" themselves and others are put to death by the retreating Balinese.

Everywhere were groups of men fighting and it was only by signals that connection could be kept up amongst them.

At eight o'clock, even at nine o'clock the struggle was still going on in this labyrinth. Although the men advanced as much under cover of the walls as they possibly could, the number of our victims was steadily increasing; and at this juncture Major van Blommestein had his foot badly wounded.

With the help of portions of Swart's column the left wing succeeded in advancing, but only very slowly and the right wing could not get on at all. They had reached as far as the homesteads lying on the main road running from South to North, but it was impossible to extend to the east or north. Every attack was repulsed by the Balinese, and the main column was in a decidedly critical situation.

The Commander-in-chief perceived the danger; Lieutenant de Greve, acting Staff-officer, was despatched to Lt.-col. Scheuer, carrying orders for him to advance to rescue the right wing of Fracker's column; but to avoid, where possible, the main road occupied by the Balinese.

Lt.-col. Scheuer understood perfectly well that if he proceeded by winding in and out through the tortuous walls, he would never be able to reach the column in time and furthermore that he and his men would very likely be caught in an equally dangerous position. He decided therefore to follow the main road. † "But it is not free," remarked lieutenant de Greve.

* Made of bamboo a few days before; every company was provided with four of these ladders.

† It appears that in the interval Christan's company had advanced through the side roads further West of the main road.

"Where the 9th battalion marches, the road is free!" is the pithy reply, an answer open to criticism, but which in this case did not fail to excite a spirit of daring and which was a fine proof of the mutual trust between officers and soldiers. They all knew they could rely upon one another.

And this trust was soon going to be put to the test.

They started at once from the kampong of Poenia and marched in a Northerly direction. Without heeding the hostile fire—Sub-lieutenant Grootenboer was immediately wounded in the abdomen—they crossed the river Antjar and a few walls and homesteads in order to reach the main road. One more short passage and they will be there. Now onwards. The enemy seeing themselves attacked on the left flank wheeled round precipitately. Thus Commander Fracker's right wing was relieved and could advance.

As connectedly as they could the troops drew nearer to the cross roads.

But here the enemy had taken up a new position which they defended with all the vigour of despair. It was now about 10 a. m.; Scheuer's column, always driving the hostile forces back, had nearly reached the walled-in space of the S. W. poeri, the former dwelling of Gusti Njoman Kaler.

A few Balinese retreated behind a narrow little gateway and were promptly followed by the fusileers Terpstra, Baas and Nelk. Suddenly these three men find themselves in the large enclosure of the poeri face to face with hundreds of Balinese, amongst whom was very probably the Crown-prince with his body guard.

The three men were greeted with a shower of bullets; Baas was wounded in the head, Terpstra in the hands, but Nelk was uninjured. At the sounds of this firing lieutenant Muller wanted to penetrate through the doorway but his men drew him back. It was too reckless. Nelk was also called back, and he returned to his comrades safe and sound.

It was necessary to force their way through from some other point.

Scheuer's column tried to push further along the main road to arrive at the cross roads, whence they intended to take the poeri by storm. It was precisely at this point that the enemy had concentrated all their forces. Both from the surrounding walls and from the trees the fire on the column was so fierce, that it was utterly impossible to proceed. A section of native soldiers was now ordered to sacrifice themselves for the general benefit. They were to advance to the point where the four roads meet and where they would naturally attract the enemy's fire thus giving the main body an opportunity of advancing to invade the poeri. The natives advanced hurriedly to reach the appointed spot, but were checked by the terrific fire. The same order was given to a second section, but neither could they advance and many sought shelter behind the waringin trees on the road.

Commander Scheuer asked, ordered reinforcements to advance but, where were they to come from? Just at that moment Lieutenant Broekman was hurried forward to help with his section of Europeans.

To remember where he came from, we must go back a little.

The ambulance under command of Surgeon J. W. Portengen had advanced on the main road as far as the third side street from the cross-roads, say, about 280 yards from the poeri. On the west side of this street runs a clear little stream, and running parallel with the water was a deep trench. This was an invaluable discovery: the wounded could be laid down, close to the clear-running water where it was thought they would be well screened from the enemy's fire by the walls.

Therefore the wounded were carried here, including those of the main column. Lieutenant Broekman was appointed by the commander of his company, Captain Janssen, to cover the ambulance with his section.

He heard the call of Colonel Scheuer. Broekman had failed to receive the "Order of William" notwithstanding his exemplary conduct at Atcheen. Was not this an opportunity to win it?

Just at this moment the ambulance did not require his protection, so forward he went.

He succeeded in reaching the cross-roads with his section and in holding the position for a little while but this preliminary triumph was dearly bought! He was shot in the back from a tree N. W. of the poeri, and his lower limbs were immediately paralyzed.

Although he suffered most excruciating pains, no murmur was ever heard to pass his lips and his mind remained clear to the end. His comrades spoke words of comfort to him and the Commander-in-chief visited him, announcing to him the news that he was to be decorated with the "Order of William" for his bravery.

Poor fellow he died just one month after the capture of Mataram. It was a touching sight to see the affection with which the native soldiers of his company adorned his bier! And touching too were the words spoken by the minister over his open grave.

He did not survive to see the accomplishment of his heart's dearest wish, but his name is inscribed now as "knight" in the registers of the Chancellor's office of the Order.

The position of Broekman's section was becoming more and more perilous; in addition to their commander many others had fallen: and it was evident that the remainder would not be able to stand their ground much longer.

Yet it is imperative to maintain the position. Who was to advance now? There was some slight hesitation. Colonel Scheuer determined to go himself: he knew all would follow his lead.

Luckily however this resolution needed not to be carried out! Captain Janssen seeing that it was a question of prompt action, placed himself at the head and was quickly joined by a few good shots: some Balinese soldiers standing behind one of the low walls were shot down, after which an attack was made, and the enemy were obliged to withdraw.

Grenades are thrown over the high walls into the large enclosure and

once again an advance was made towards the narrow gateway; Captain Janssen at the head of his company. They effected an entry at the point of the bayonet into the enclosure, whence the enemy were forced to beat a retreat. Meanwhile the main column had also penetrated into the open square. *

Before proceeding we must see what happened to the ambulance after Broekman's departure. Besides this officer himself many other seriously wounded soldiers were brought in. Just as two men of the 7th battalion, Corporal Zijlstra and Fusilier Singel, were carrying in Lieutenant Grootenboer a heavy volley was directed straight against them from behind a low wall just at the end of the trench where the ambulance was stationed.

The doctor immediately put rifles and cartridges in the hands of Zijlstra, and Singel and Fusilier Van Wijk of 7th battalion whom he had just bandaged, and ordered them to reply to the fire while the wounded were all told to bend low or were stretched flat on the ground.

While the doctor proceeded with his task of bandaging, a European soldier lying on the ground behind him received a bullet through the head, which bullet was certainly meant for the doctor. The three soldiers managed to keep the enemy at bay by greeting them with bullets every time their heads appeared above the walls and this was kept up until Capt. Utzman of the 6th battalion, who was advancing with the main body, came to the rescue and drove the Balinese soldiers away.

At last the doctor was able to comply with the order of Colonel Scheuer and transport the wounded one by one along the East side of the main road to the poeri, to the prince's residence on the N.W. side, where the ambulance was established in a large shed.

We will now return to the main column.

At the same time that Janssen's company had pushed through the front entrance of the poeri Captain Creutz Lechleitner and his company reached the back entrance, where they fell in with a band of thirty men armed with spears and krisses. A short close fight ensued; Sublieutenant Van Teyn cleft the head of a Balinese right through the middle, and one by one those remaining succumbed. Any further resistance would be futile. The Dewas have so ordained it.

Amid loud rejoicings all the other detachments made their way into the poeri; the position at the cross-roads was given up by the Balinese; those who did not escape were shot down and the ground was covered with their dead bodies.

The spirit of the enemy was broken. They might have continued to defend themselves from the three other poeris, which formed equally strong positions, but their courage was exhausted.

* It is possible that in our account of the attack on Mataram some inaccuracies may have crept in, as we have had no official reports to draw from. The accounts we have received have frequently been at variance with one another. This is however not to be wondered at when we hear of the same thing occurring at headquarters; for which reason the Commander-in-chief has ordered that in future all accounts of fighting be brought in on the evening of the encounter.

A couple of shells from the mountain artillery sufficed to drive away he few remaining Balinese and the troops were delighted to recapture ne of the field pieces they had lost on the 26th August, along with he limber, a couple of wallpieces and a forge which were carried in riumph to the poeri.

The 2nd battalion, which had been following the movements of the eft flank of the main column, had in the interval also reached the ross-roads.

The reserve had also advanced to this point, and the troops were ssembled on the high road for a moment's repose after the struggle.

The Commander-in-chief appeared on the scene; a deafening cheer vent up from every throat; he was greeted with indescribable enthu- iasm as he mounted the steps of the palace of the Balinese princes.

What thoughts must have passed through the mind of this man, earing the weight of such a heavy responsibility?

In his mind's eye he could picture to himself those weary troops, who, barely a month ago narrowly escaping destruction, had been pur- ued and disgraced and had their *moral* so grievously shaken; and now?

Not only was that army vastly increased in numbers, but it had ained inward strength and had once more confidence in itself.

The enemy, defiant and arrogant, had hoped to drive us back to sea, ut instead of that had been himself repulsed in every direction by the uperiority of our forces.

Beside the triumphant names of Pagasangan and Pasinggahan we may ow write the not less celebrated name of Mataram.

With pride and satisfaction indeed may the leader of the army stand t the head of his valiant men, in the very centre of the former seat f Balinese power.

For the first time during all this critical business a smile flits across he otherwise serious face of the Commander-in-chief as he nodded to fficers and men. He thanked them for the courage they had displayed nd baring his head led them in giving three cheers, which were ociferously joined in by the troops.

It was a solemn moment. It was as it were a cementing tighter and loser of the bonds that united them. The past has been obliterated and ow each one can look back with honour to these days of victory, and ace the future with renewed hope.

Still bad times were yet in store for us.

It was deemed inadvisable to pursue the enemy further that day in he midst of the labyrinth of walls. A strong post had to be built t Mataram, which was at once begun in the open space of the S.W. poeri. For the safety and protection of the fort which was to be alled Mataram-poeri, all the surrounding territory had first of all to e cleared.

A portion of the troops protected the workers, and the others along with the convicts are set to clearing under the lead of the engineers Captain Ruenepol). To begin with, the three poeris are taken in hand

for dismantlement and subsequent demolishment; powder, dynamite, crow-bars, pitch, spades and anything that can be got hold of is brought into requisition for the work of destruction; and after great efforts, the walls were finally laid low. Thus were the palaces of the Balinese

Rajah Anag Agoeng K'Ttoet.

princes brought to the level of the ground on which they had been raised.

These residences were sumptuously furnished, magnificent specimens of European comforts and luxury were profusely strewn about. A number of precious stones, gold, costly weapons, objects of Balinese art, various things which they had secured as booty in their attack against us, were brought to light. Time for examination was not allowed.

Shortly after everything was devoured by the flames. *

In the midst of this horrible scene of devastation, the Sassaks again clustered round in hundreds, to search the houses for plunder.

Loaded with booty, whole tribes of them returned to their kampongs, while some few remained to assist in the work of demolition.

The fire spread further and further and notwithstanding a heavy shower of rain continued to burn fiercely right through the night. In the interval the fort had been put into as an effectual state of defence as was possible. A small work to secure the communications was also constructed between Arong-Arong and Mataram. At 6 p. m. the troops were able to return to Ampenan and their respective posts, where they were received with tremendous enthusiasm.

Two campanies of the 6th battalion, as well as two field pieces and one mountain gun were left at Mataram-poeri and one section in the small work on the West side.

The men of the naval brigade returned from the posts they had occupied to Ampenan.

The casualties during the day were killed: 1 officer, (Sub-lieutenant H. Valkenburg of the infantry) 13 soldiers and 3 convicts; the wounded included 4 officers (all of the infantry) and 58 soldiers. Total 79.

These serious losses show how heavy the fighting was.

The enemy's losses were far more numerous, although the number of wounded who made good their escape to Tjakra is unknown. It was however possible to form an opinion, judging from the number of dead bodies which were found everywhere, both on the ground and in the dwellings. The number was computed at 300, amongst whom were women and children, some of whom had unfortunately fallen victims to our bullets, but many had received death at the hands of their own people. From reports received the Crown-prince was also dead; he had fallen with his men while defending the poeri.

Some of his faithful followers had carried the corpse to Tjakra; the old prince desired once more to look upon the features of his son, but was persuaded not to do so. The body was too shockingly mutilated.

Thus the man who had been destined to rule as a powerful prince lost both his life and his crown, paying the penalty of another's guilt.

So fell in honourable fashion the ill-fated prince, as demanded by the "adat" and the conceptions regarding the honour of a Rajah.

Concerning the effect that the artillery fire had had on Mataram, the statements brought in by the spies proved to be as incorrect as those they had made regarding the almost entire evacuation of Mataram.

Naturally there were very evident traces of the bombardment, very great havock had been worked here and there, but there was no

* This did not add to the comfort of the ambulance of Scheuer's column, which was in the N. W. poeri, where all the wounded of the other columns had been brought also. When the roof above their heads was in flames, they had to been taken to a fresh place of shelter. At half past two all the wounded were conveyed to Ampenan.

question of complete destruction. The small low walls had scarcely suffered at all.

The greater part of the houses had not only remained in habitable condition, but were actually inhabited not only by men, but even by women and children.

Experience once again taught us that too much reliance should not be placed on the results of a bombardment of large places built with solid stone walls.

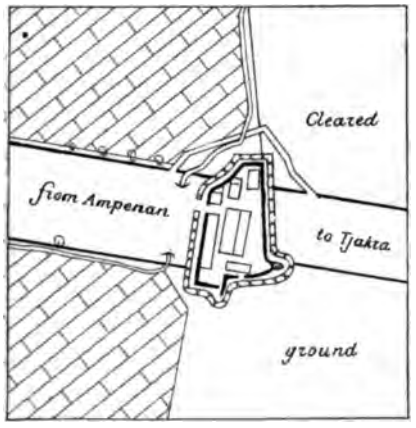
The capture of Mataram could not fail to fill the Balinese with consternation, and the alarm at Tjakra was almost universal. Many would have surrendered at this juncture of affairs, others tried to escape, and large numbers sought protection amongst the Sassaks, promising to accept Islamism.

# X.

## OCCURRENCES PRECEDING THE ATTACK OF TJAKRA NAGARA.

It was once more Saturday night—29th—30th Sept.—but what a different Saturday to that of five weeks ago. This time the sleep of the troops remained undisturbed.

The following morning, 30th Sept. the Second-in-command advanced with a column, composed of 3½ companies of Infantry, 1 section of mountain artillery, 2 sections of engineers and all the available convicts to proceed with the work of demolition. What a frightful undertaking is the destruction of a town. The walls must be knocked down, homes laid waste, trees felled, so that Mataram as a town, may cease to exist.



Redoubt of Mataram. Scale 1 : 2250.

Day after day, week after week, the work of extinction will be continued without interruption, until it is accomplished.

But, we will not anticipate events. The whole of the 30th September the labours were carried on under suitable cover. The fort at Mataram-poeri was reinforced, the surrounding ground was cleared.

Nothing more was seen of the enemy. The booty-seeking Sassaks scattered themselves over the entire East part of Mataram and it was not long before they discovered and brought back to us with great rejoicing the second of our lost field-guns. Capt. Willemstijn, of the staff who was present with Segov's column made a reconnoissance on the other side of the R. Antjar—in their precipitate flight the Balinese had omitted to destroy the bridge which crossed the river at this point—and was able to see distinctly the earthworks, by means of which the Balinese had shut off all communication with Mataram from the East side.

The Sassaks were also busily engaged searching about in the N.W. direction, and it was quite certain this part must be deserted too, for the wary Sassaks would never have ventured where they were likely to meet their foes.

It was thought that all the Balinese must have retreated from Mataram. Already—it was 4 p.m.—preparations were made for the return to Ampenan. Two Sassaks, one provided with a Netherlands flag, the other with a white one, begged for an interview with the Commander.

Admitted to General Segov they inform him "that they have come as representatives of their kampongs in N.W. Mataram to make their submission and further, that about 50 paces from the N.W. Poeri there was a store of Balinese weapons and ammunition. The General can go there quite safely, there was no danger whatever and they will show him the way. Should he find anything wrong, he will be able to shoot his informants." Of course the General did not go on this errand himself, but despatched a section of Infantry belonging to the 2nd battalion, under Lieutenant van Appen.

Captain Erpecum, acting aide-de-camp to the General went with them as a matter of curiosity and for the same reason they were joined by Captain van Griethuijsen, commander of van Oppen's company.

Guided by the Sassaks, they turned into a narrow street W. of the poeri and running Northwards. One hundred and fifty paces further, they had to enter a side-street, only about two yards wide, which the guides said, lead to the powder-magazine They follow it for a bit.... "This is going too far", says van Erpecum. Yes, the guides begin to think they have taken the wrong turning. One of them is lifted up to look over the wall; the house was empty,—this was the wrong place. So they turned back until they reached a continuation of the street where they were first of all, and keep more Northwards. There on the left-hand side was a narrow little doorway, yes, that was the door leading to the magazine.

They entered but barely had part of the troops passed through, when they were surprised by the most overwhelming fire from all sides.

"Back!" shouted van Erpecum; all made for that narrow little doorway—but only one man could go through at a time. It was a hopeless struggle to get out—the enemy fired straight into the very midst of that mass of humanity.

And outside? From behind the wall on the other side of that narrow street the Balinese speared or shot at point blank range, those of the unfortunate men who have not got inside.

Captain Erpecum succeeded in retreating to a short distance with a good many of the wounded,—among whom was Captain van Griethuijsen—but had to leave behind those who were killed; they reached another narrow passage and there van Erpecum tried to put his men under cover. Just as he went round a corner to see what the exact situation was, he was fired upon and fell, and it was in vain that they tried to help him; Lieutenant van Appen was also shot through the chest and he too fell a victim in this unequal struggle.

The General heard the firing and immediately sent a couple of sections of infantry to the rescue; but in this maze of walls it was not so easy to find their comrades; everything in the poeri was in a state of alarm; a cavalry soldier came hastening up for "tandoes" for the wounded, some of them were already being carried back. The first was Captain van Griethuijsen, then came Lieutenant van Oppen. The surgeon and the recorder Valette try to bandage their wounds whilst bullets were whizzing around them but it was too late to save van Oppen, he succumbed to his injuries. A short time after a couple of convicts, who had volunteered to undertake the dangerous task, went and fetched the dead body of van Erpecum; a bullet through the heart had caused instantaneous death.

And thus the very day after the victory two smart, efficient young officers lost their lives.

If an officer—like Valkenburg and Broekman the previous day—fall in the heat of the fight, at the head of his men, whilst stimulating and encouraging them in their duty, it is no doubt hard, very hard for those they have left to mourn them. But in that case the mourners, be they child, brother, husband or friend, have the solace of knowing that the lost one laid down his life on the altar of the fatherland and that the sacrifice thus offered has had glorious results! Not so under such circumstances as we have described.

Towards dusk the enemy was driven away and all was quiet at Mataram.

The troops returned with the wounded, of which besides Captain Griethuijsen there were about nineteen soldiers. There were also nine soldiers missing. What fate had befallen them?

Deeply and sadly impressed by these occurrences the men made the return march to Ampenan in complete silence. By the time they passed Arong-Arong it was quite dark.

Suddenly a shot was fired from the kampong of Sinagong on the North of the high road. Fortunately nothing more was heard and it was indeed a blessing that the enemy did not further harass the column that night; how easy it would have been to create confusion in the darkness in that long line, which included so many hundred convicts.

Thus it happens during every war that there are moments of weakness even for the victorious side, if only the enemy knew of them and made the most of them.

Without however any further disturbance the troops reached headquarters, but it was a very wretched night for everybody.

The following day two events of very opposite natures took place: one was a work of vengeance.

One of the Sassak guides, who had led our brave men into the pitfall, had been shot at the beginning of the fray, but the other had been taken prisoner and conveyed to Ampenan. At first he denied having had any share in the betrayal but a few applications of the cane soon brought him to the speedy acknowledgment that he had acted in

obedience to the commands of his master, Gusti Gredak; he had been ordered to try and induce the General and as many Dutchmen as he could to fall into the snare. First of all he had refused to obey, then the Balinese took a spear and stuck it through his foot—and really the marks were there—and threatened him with death if he persisted in his refusal.

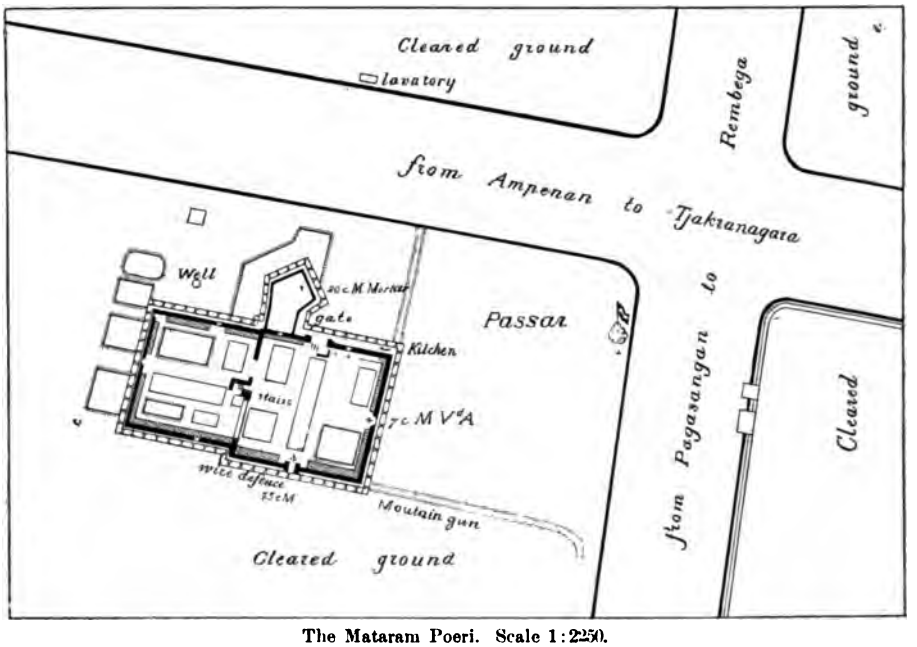
This confession sealed his fate.

The next morning he was hanged just outside Ampenan and his fate was shared by a Balinese spy, who had been caught the day before.

Were these guides really guilty? We tell the tale that was extracted by the cane for what it was worth; but decidedly appearances were against them.

But then on the other hand the question arises, what could have prompted the Sassaks to such an act? Fear of the Balinese?

They knew perfectly that they were sure of our protection, whilst if they misled us, they were certain of punishment, if not immediate death.




The Mataram Poeri. Scale 1:2250.

And surely it was not affection for the Balinese that could have inspired them; besides was not the powder-magazine found a few days later in the neighbourhood where the disaster had occurred?

Whatever may have been the true state of things, there was not time for enquiry on the battle-field and the knot had to be cut in the simplest and quickest possible manner.

Furthermore it was expedient to give some sort of satisfaction to the deeply-embittered soldiers. And the other victims?

Rows upon rows of men were standing around a newly-dug grave while

the bodies of their comrades were laid to rest; their grief was mingled with resentment, when they thought of the treachery that had taken from their midst those brave fellows, who escaped death on the open field.

The chief of the staff spoke of the loss sustained by the army, the comrades and the relatives of the deceased; the priest, Father Vogel, said a few timely words to those gathered together at the grave side and when he said that "many of us are nearer the gates of eternity than we may suspect," everybody felt the terrible truth of this remark and the Commander-in-chief, deeply touched, took the hand of this faithful minister, who had done his duty on so many sad occasions.

The work of demolition progressed daily at Mataram.

Every morning early the troops with all the available convicts marched there and only returned at nightfall.

Slowly but surely the ground around Mataram-poeri was being cleared and levelled and was becoming wider in area; the covering party was always at the prescribed distance in front, and everything is done with the utmost caution and not a step was taken before making perfectly sure of the safety of the situation.

In the beginning, whilst the demolition was being proceeded with in South and West Mataram, bands of Balinese had shown themselves in North and East Mataram, so it was decided to re-inforce our post at Mataram-poeri, on the 2nd October, by an additional 20 c.m. cannon.

When the work was terminated in the S. W., it was begun in the N. W.

On the 5th October the soldiers that were missing after the catastrophe of the 30th Sept. were found all heaped up together; these were sergeant Van Till and eight fusiliers. The enemy had taken their rifles, ammunition and clothes, but had not mutilitated the bodies.

Quite close to the spot where they were found, the workers really discovered the magazine of which the Sassaks had spoken; it contained 216 barrels and 13 kegs of gunpowder, 4 cases of cartridges for breech-loaders and repeaters, and implements for filling cartridges.

It is a mystery why all this material was left behind, for the enemy had not quitted this part of Mataram in such great haste.

About a yard from this point was found one of our shells, which had not burst.

The systematic way in which the demolition was carried on brought to light many other important finds, principally in the way of arms and ammunition.

Naturally the Sassaks possessed themselves of the lion's share of the treasures, such as furniture, clothes, valuables and cases filled with Kèpengs. Here and there great stores of rice were dug up.

Their generous offer to dig up the treasures buried behind the poeri at Mataram, was however rejected; they were told that the troops could not spare time for that at present, for it was not considered necessary to see all the treasures disappear into the hands of the Sassaks. *

As, in the beginning at least, the Sassaks had been of very little help

* We have not heard whether any later researches have been made there...

in the work of demolition, and as there were too few hands available for the gigantic undertaking, the Commander-in-chief had requisitioned the services of 500 free coolies, who reached Lombock on the 2nd October. They were sent from Madura and were placed under the orders of a distinguished Madurese.

The transport was now 2900 men strong and was also increased by 220 horses and the necessary transport material. The various tactical units absorbed some 1200 convicts for regimental transport: the remaining 1700 men with the horses and staff were at the disposal of the engineers.

On the whole the conduct of the free coolies left a good deal to be wished for; but we cannot withhold a word of praise from those men who had been convicted and sentenced: this expedition owes them a tremendous debt of gratitude. Great services were rendered by this mass of long-suffering and willing humanity. They it was who transported all the artillery material, and all the requisites for the medical department and the commissariat, etc. How hard they toiled in the bivouac and in the numerous engineering operations; how bravely they passed through the enemy's line to seek information; how uncomplainingly they went forth to scout and spy, how readily they carried extra ammunition; how courageously they faced the fire to reach a wounded soldier and carry him under cover.

On the 6th of October the whole of West-Mataram was razed to the ground, and after a well-earned rest on the 7th, the work could be begun in the Eastern portion.

A group of old men, women and children, who had been left behind in their dwellings were conveyed to Ampenan. It was soon noticed that some amongst them were suffering from small-pox; they were at once isolated and eventually sent to Labouan Tring.

From information received, it became known that the disease was raging on the East coast. A Doctor Djawa from Boeléleng and a vaccinator were immediately sent to the district, to prevent as much as possible the spreading of the malady, whilst Doctor Vorderman, inspector of the civil medical department in Java, came to Ampenan from Batavia to take further precautionary measures.

As it appeared that various cases of sickness had occurred at Mataram and Tjakra, great fears were entertained lest the infection should reach the camps, so a special medical officer was instructed to re-vaccinate the troops.

Concerning the general condition of the men's healths, at the beginning of October it had been declared excellent, but very shortly afterwards, on the 8th, the sick list was found to be a long one; in fact it amounted to 6 per cent of the troops.

By the 10th October Mataram was in such à position as to run no risk of being re-occupied by the enemy. Still it was quite another month before it could be said that the enemy was completely driven from the neighbourhood, and before an attack on Tjakra Nagara could be thought of.

Let us see how this month was spent.

The attitude of the Balinese at Tjakra Nagara was entirely a defensive one. After the fall of Mataram many had no doubt escaped in a Northerly and North Easterly direction, where they were safe from the fire of our ships and our columns; but, either by force or by promises the prince was able to prevent the greater portion of the people from leaving his capital.

On the night of 4th—5th October there was loud musketry firing in Tjakra. The following morning several Netherlands flags were seen flying from different points and a white one was flying from the Western maingate. What was happening? was there dissension between the followers of the prince, determined at all costs to defend their last stronghold and the party who was willing to surrender? And had the latter got the upper hand at these different points? or was this flying of our flags simply a stratagem of war and were they trying to entice us into a trap?

As no further steps were taken to betoken submission, the latter conjecture was considered the correct one and the work of bombarding Tjakra from Mataram and Pagasangan East was proceeded with.

Had all or perhaps part of the Balinese really intended to surrender?

It is not surprising after all that had taken place that the Commander-in-chief should be very suspicious of any advances they might make! From the reports of the spies we learned that there was a split in the enemy's camp; and surely our mode of answering those who wished for peace can hardly be called conciliatory. It would have been easy to ascertain the real facts of the matter; a portion of the troops might have established themselves on the enceinte and thence have judged to what extent our presence was likely to prove valuable or not to those who wished to sever their connection with the prince. Hitherto there was a generally prevailing opinion amongst the Balinese that we would shoot every man who came over to us.

In reply to the roundabout enquiries that were made by the Balinese the Commander-in-chief intimated that all those who surrendered and who were found to be neither instigators nor ringleaders, should be pardoned under certain conditions (such as the giving up of their arms and ammunition and their relegation to a certain appointed place), and their lives should be spared. At a later date, after being empowered to do so by the government, a promulgation was issued, saying that the lives should be spared of all those who surrendered either singly or in a body.

On the 10th October the poenggawa Ida Bagoes Saray of Tjamara (North Mataram) gave up his arms and with 59 fighting men, 26 women and 21 children surrendered to the Commander-in-chief and they were immediately escorted to Labuan Tring; after that but few surrendered. The prince still maintained too much authority and there could be no question of treating with him. Dead or alive he must fall into our hands, nothing less could efface the outrage to our army and our honour could not otherwise be redeemed, nor could the future government of Lombock be established on a sure basis.

From every point of view, the position was now such that there remained no alternative but to seize the capital by force of arms.

The most desirable plan would have been to surround Tjakra either from Kambega on the North or Soekadana on the South, but this was not practicable with the forces available. There was nothing to be done excepting to make the attack straight in front while threatening the flanks.

Preparatory to the siege it was essential to strengthen the artillery in the front, besides guarding against possible attack on the north side. The south side of Tjakra could be enfiladed from Pagasangan East.

The demolition at East Mataram was so far advanced that batteries could be erected, while the necessary guns could be brought from the posts at Arong-Arong and Mataram poeri, which were less favourably situated for carrying out the proposed project.

Sketch of the Position at Mataram. Scale: 1 to 4 : 5000.

On the 14th October two battalions of infantry with all the available engineers and train passed through Pagasangan East to Karang Bedil, (the S.E. division of Mataram) where a position was taken on the edge of the rice field opposite W. Tjakra, with the object of raising a post in the Dewa temple close by for the reception of a couple of 12 c.m. B. L. guns.

By evening it was sufficiently advanced to leave it to the protection of a company of infantry and a section of artillery, while next morning the guns could be conveyed there.

This was reckoning without our host, who in this case was represented by the watery element.

In consequence of the heavy rainfall in the mountains all the small rivers were very much swollen.

The rivier Djangkok had risen considerably and swept away in its

course everything along the roads. The bamboo bridge between Ampenan and Kapitan which had been put up by the engineers was unable to resist the force of the rushing water. Communication with the camp by the sea was interrupted.

There could be no question of transporting guns now. The worst of the matter was that the 7th battalion which had been covering the work of destruction at Mataram, with 50 men of the naval brigade, artillery, engineers and 800 convicts were cut from Ampenan. All attempt to get the troops across remained ineffectual owing to the rapidity of

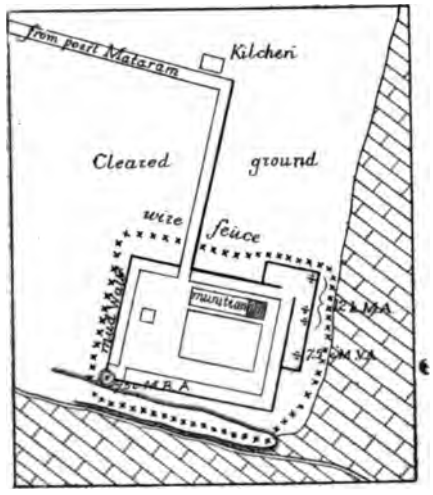
Bamboo bridge across the river Djangkok.

the current. The night was spent in the open air, without any covering, exposed to the pouring rain. By means of a small Sassak boat warm food and gin was carried to the troops.

The following day the water had fallen sufficiently to permit of the men crossing a few at a time in the little Sassak boats or else by holding on to a cable which had been thrown across the river. Afterwards the guns were brought across on rafts and in "praos." By half past eleven the whole column had reached Ampenan and as a precautionary measure each man was served with a dose of quinine.

Here too they had had a bad time of it. In times of inundation the little rivers running both north and south are unable to empty themselves into the sea, so they streamed into Ampenan, and the people were knee-deep in water. The lower parts of the town had been evacuated with the least possible delay and shelter sought in the higher lying parts.

Measures had to be taken at once to restore communication and to prevent the recurrence of such an accident, the knowledge of which might have been very much to the advantage of the Balinese, had they but known of it.




The first thing that was done to re-open communication was to fetch one of the lighters belonging to the Royal Steam-packet Company, take it to pieces and carry it to the river, the two pirogues were used as ferries, whilst a temporary wooden bridge was built by the engineers with the help of the marines, which would serve until an iron one could be made.

To facilitate the quicker discharge of the river Djangkok into the sea, a canal was cut from the point of the river where it curves to the south, straight into the sea.

In order to secure a higher and healthier position for the troops and provide that in case of a renewal of this contingency there should be an abundant supply of forces on the opposite side of the river, it was decided to construct a fortified encampment for two battalions of infantry, artillery, cavalry and engineers at Kapitan.

Besides this a dam was constructed to lead the waters of the Sombrok—a river north of Ampenan—in a more northerly direction to the Meninting, to prevent the flooding of the camp on the north side.

Many repairs were needed; gales of wind and rain, both in the quarters at Ampenan and at the outposts and also on the roads, had worked considerable damage everywhere. The new Decauville-line from Ampenan to Pagasangan East by Kalch, was so deeply imbedded in mud, that preference was given to the old main road: Arong-Arong-Mataram-Pagasangan East, which was now free.

It is almost unnecessary to say that under the circumstances the disembarking and transport of supplies was a matter of great difficulty and took a great deal of time, especially the transport of artillery material and ammunition.

Although every effort was used to push on the building of the pier, still little progress was made. The shore could no longer be reached by the rafts; and the cases of ammunition had to be opened on the raft

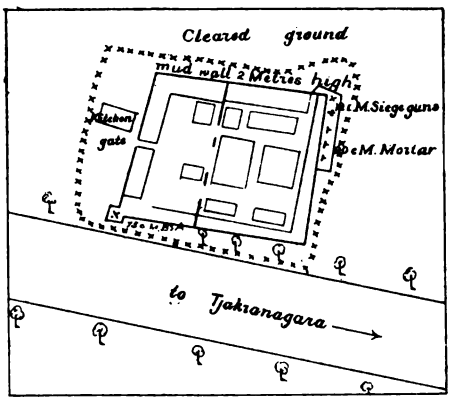
and the projectiles were carried on shore one by one through the surf. When it became impossible to lower the cases on to the rafts, everything had to be brought by pinnaces. Some of the lighter cases could be placed in them as they were, but the larger ones had to be opened and all the projectiles and cartridges had to be placed in the pinnaces separately and carried on shore, the sailors being up to their waists in water.

And days might come when even this mode of disembarkation would be impossible, when all communication would be broken with the harbour.

Meanwhile the two 12 c.m. guns had been placed in battery at Karang Bedil on the 19th October.

To accelerate communication between this post and the main road running North and South, a solid bridge was built across the river Antjar and for its protection a blockhouse was erected in the high road near the bridge.

The following day they were able to beg in a new battery at Padjang on the east side of Mataram and north of Karang-Bedil.



Battery at Padjang. Scale: 1 to 2250.

The enemy tried to impede the labour here by heavy firing from Mondjok (N. E. of Mataram) which they still occupied, but they were repulsed with slight loss in killed and wounded.

The new post at Padjang was so far advanced at night that the company left behind had no reason to fear an attack.

Three days later it was strengthened by two 12 c.m. guns and a 20 c.m. mortar, on the fourth by two more similar mortars, while the artillery staff was composed of two superior officers, 3 corporals and 28 cannoneers.

On the 28th October Karang-Bedil was strengthened by one 12 c.m. gun and the artillery garrison was brought up to 2 officers, 2 N.C. officers, 2 corporals and 15 cannoneers.

With this complement the batteries against Tjakra were ready for action.

As the work of building the new posts had proceeded, some of the earlier ones had lost their importance, so that they could either be quite abandoned or the garrison very much decreased. Kaleh was reduced to 1½ company and so was Mataram-poeri and these troops were left there only to keep open the line of communication; but the post of observation at the W. entrance to Mataram as well as the S. W. fort at Arong-Arong were dismantled.

During all these preparations the enemy had continued mostly inactive. Only on the 27th Oct. had the enemy fired on the troops whilst they were opening up the ground near Padjang on the North bank of the Antjar; a clearance had been necessary at this point to get a clear view of Taman Radja and Bangkal Tjoelik.

The three batteries facing Tjakra: Pagasangan East, Karang-Bedil and Padjang had kept up a continuous fire against the capital since the 23rd, with the result that on 30th Oct. a powder magazine exploded at Tjakra. The shock was felt at a considerable distance; pieces of wood and stone were flung as far as Mataram where the troops were working.

All during this month every effort was put forth for the improvement of the dwellings and the lines of communication, the need of which was felt more and more.

On the 19th of October there was another very heavy rainfall at Ampenan and the river Djangkok again overflowed.

The work of building the new encampment could only be proceeded with very slowly; the spot chosen was on the North of the road to Mataram and as it was thickly wooded and there were very large trees to be felled, the time spent even in preparing the ground was considerable.

"Although there were thousands of hands employed," writes the correspondent of the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* to his paper on 4th Nov., "it took a whole fortnight to raise a breastwork 4ft high, to build four very primitive small forts, to cut down the trees and put up a wire entanglement round the bivouac.

"In view of the very slow progress and seeing that at this rate it would take another three weeks to complete the work, it has been decided to resort to more decisive tactics so, late at night, the order was suddenly given to the 6th battalion to be ready to start at daybreak the following morning, for the new encampment at Kapitan. Certainly the idea was not inviting, but the officers clearly understood that it was the best thing to be done. The officers and soldiers, helped by the convicts, the Madurese and Sassak coolies, and instructed by the engineers, all set to work cheerfully to do the best they could to forward the work, but towards midday a torrent of rain fell, drenching the men and everything they had brought with them. This however was not allowed to interfere with their labours and towards evening all were under cover.

"..... The rain is incessant. The bivouac is nothing but a pool of mud; everything is wet, nobody possesses a dry stitch of clothing for the sun is hidden." Two companies of the 7th battalion were sent to Kapitan the following day and managed to run up a sort of makeshift shelter, but there could be no question of continuing the work seriously.

"To begin with, the Sassaks coolies have simply remained away during the last couple of days; they object to working in the rain. Secondly the Sassaks are bringing in no more materials, and the numerous barracks for infantry, artillery, cavalry, ammunition, victuals and convicts which figure so prominently on the "plan for the bivouac," cannot be made to assume tangible shape without materials, but if only we had materials we should get on famously.

"It seems such a pity that all the ground should have been so much dug up. It is nothing but mud, mud, mud!

"To the honour of our soldiers be it said that under these most unsatisfactory circumstances, all continue to work diligently and cheerfully as long as their health permits. They understand as well as the officers that fate is responsible for this distressing state of affairs and they try to make the best of things.

"....Slow progress is being made with the iron bridge across the Djangkok...

"The landing of all the heavy materials was attended by many difficulties; competent workmen were scarce; the stony nature of the soil obstructed the driving in of the iron pillars. A new approach had to be made, for the bridge was about 165 yards east of the old bamboo one...."

On the 5th November General Vetter sent the following communication to Batavia.

...."The west monsoons are being severely felt; for the last four days we have had an uninterrupted downpour of heavy rain, which is doing serious damage to the roads. The temporary bridge over the Soungei Djangkok is impassable, so that all communication has to be carried on by means of the bridge of boats" "Communication with the harbour is repeatedly interrupted, and on the 3rd it remained so all day owing to the heavy rainstorm from the S. West, which caused the sea to swell tremendously."

The situation was assuming a very alarming aspect: communication with the harbour was growing more and more difficult, for one entire day it was cut off entirely, the roads were like swamps, the rivers were all swollen, part of the country was completely under water.

What results could be expected from an attack against Tjakra under such conditions?

What resistance did we not encounter at Mataram? And even yet the enemy could not be said to be quite driven away from there. What would be the result if we besieged Tjakra, so much more extensive, feeling too that the enemy would fight this time with the energy born of despair?

Would it be possible to march through these swampy rice fields and to wade through these unfordable rivers? Would the artillery ever be able to keep up with the other troops?

On the other hand, how would a delay affect the health of the men? Was not Lombock during the West monsoon known to be unhealthy?

And now, with all these rains and storms and insufficient protection from the inclemency of the weather and the marshy ground, was there not every reason to dread all sorts of illness?

The sick list had already reached the enormous proportions of 8¾ per cent, and for Europeans even 11½ per cent!

Surely under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the Commander-in-chief thought of the future with gloomy forebodings.

And, there were other dark clouds perceptible on the horizon.

We will now say a few words concerning affairs not taking place on the actual battle-field.

The day after the capture of Mataram, the men landed from the *Prins Hendrik* and the *Borneo* had returned to their ships, those of the *Bali* had gone on board the *Koningin Emma*.

The *Borneo* began cruising the North coast again; the *Prins Hendrik* remained in the harbour at Ampenan, on account of the less favorable health conditions of the men; and in her stead the *Tromp* took up the station in Kombal bay.

On the 4th October the *Bali* threw fifty shells into the big kampong of Pemenang on the N.W. coast, a place where the Balinese had stored away large provisions of rice. The kampong was soon a mass of flames and four rice magazines were destroyed, the natives fled further inland and the Sassaks continued the work of demolition and plunder. Large quantities of arms and ammunition were discovered by the Sassaks, from whom a great part were obtained later through the intermediary of the commander of the *Bali*, assisted by the Bugis chief, Abdullah Bouta, who exercised great influence on the North coast; 11 guns, some muzzle-loading and repeating rifles, besides 40 barrels of powder, projectiles, etc., were later on conveyed to Ampenan.

As soon as the health of the men on board the *Prins Hendrik* had improved, they started from Ampenan to cruise the North coast; however five days later, 24th October, they were compelled to return to Ampenan owing to the illness of the commander and eventually the ship went to Macassar for coal.

The *Borneo* which during the early part of the month had been assisting in the preliminary bombardment of Tjakra Nagara left the North coast to cruise about in the strait of Lombock and search all vessels going to and fro between the islands of Lombock and Bali; various reports from the spies in the beginning of November went to prove that the Balinese government were trying and apparently with every chance of success, to enter into friendly negotiations with the chiefs of Praja. The extraordinary attitude assumed towards us from the very beginning by Goeroe Bangkol and maintained in spite of our appeals seemed to confirm the correctness of the rumours, rendering it imperative to keep a sharp look out over Praja; and other indications were not wanting to strengthen our suspicions.

Gusti Njoman Dangin, a Balinese chief residing at Tjakra, who had notified his intention hitherto not carried out, to submit to us, warned the Commander-in-chief by letter that Goeroe Bangkol was only waiting for a favorable opportunity to betray the Netherlands government and intended to stand by the Balinese princes, having in fact already despatched envoys to treat with them. Things had come to a pretty pass, if our troops might be betrayed at any moment by the principal Sassak chiefs! Strict watch over events on the opposite coast and everything that came from there was therefore obligatory and the precaution taken was not in vain. On two different occasions the *Borneo*

overtook a native vessel carrying letters on palm leaves from Karangassim, one being from Gusti G'dé Djilantik to the Balinese prince Datoe Pangeran. The letter from our friend was full of sympathetic enquiries after the Sassaks and their present frame of mind; he explained that he himself had only returned to Bali to satisfy his followers, unwilling to leave him alone at Lombock, but that he was quite ready to return alone if by doing so he should be of any use to Datoe Pangeran. What was the meaning of this? Did it not look as if Datoe Pangeran, instead of having fled from the Balinese as stated, had been sent to Praja by the Prince to act in their interests? Certainly these offers of assistance made by Gusti Djilantik were strangely at variance with his assurances of friendship towards us; the contents of the letter would further imply that he had not yet abandoned all hopes of playing a political part amongst the Sassaks, confirming the impression made at the beginning of the negotiations.

J. H. Liefrinck.

In view of all these facts the Commander-in-chief decided to obtain positive knowledge of the real disposition of the chiefs and the inhabitants of the districts of Praja; it was also desirable to know the intentions of Goeroe Dangkol towards Datoe Pangeran, and the position of the latter towards the Balinese members of his family. This delicate task was entrusted to Controller Liefrinck, since September acting assistant-resident at Lombock. He started on his missison on the 12th November, travelling overland to Praja through a district, where daily skirmishes were taking place between the Balinese and the Sassaks. The country was also rendered unsafe by the Sassaks of Praja, itself, who were plundering right and left, not even showing mercy to those of their own tribes inhabiting the Western part of the island. On the day of his departure a column consisting of two infantry battalions, a half-troop of cavalry and two sections of mountain artillery under General Segov, with Captain Willemstijn as Chief of the Staff, made a demonstration in a Southerly direction towards Pagoetan, for the possession of which kampong the Balinese and the Sassaks kept up a continuous struggle. The troops marched via Kaleh to Pagasangan-East, took up their position on the East frontier of the kampong and directed their artillery guns against Abean Toeboeh, the most Southerly division of Tjakra Nagara.

Liefrinck reached Praja safely and his reception was everything that

could be desired; he told Goeroe Bangkol of the letter written by Djilantik and warned him of the danger he ran if Datoe Pangeran risked conniving at assistance from Bali. Goeroe Bangkol solemnly declared that he would never have anything to do with the Balinese and all the other chiefs gave repeated assurances of their friendliness and gratitude to our government; Liefrinck was able to return on the 16th November with satisfactory information.

Owing to the successful issue of the war we shall never know in how far the disquieting rumours were really true or not; but we are safe in saying: "there is never smoke without fire!" And it is a noteworthy fact that no more disturbing news was received after Liefrinck's mission and we have no hesitation in stating that the timely measure of the Commander-in-chief, combined with the tact of his envoy, saved us from very imminent peril.

In another and more literal sense the atmosphere was clearer, for the rains and storms of the latter part of October and the beginning of November were only temporary and fortunately the actual rainy season did not set in until some weeks later; everyone's courage revived and with renewed strength the operations were continued and carried through to a triumphant termination.

To achieve this happy result more troops were needed. For within the strong walls of Tjakra Nagara the Balinese had concentrated all their remaining forces and no sacrifice would be spared in the defence of their last stronghold, abundantly supplied with ammunition and weapons. The peculiar structure of the place with its numerous houses encircled by high walls and forming as it were so many fortified posts was well adapted to call forth all our energies; every attacking division would need to be covered in flank and rear by strong detachments, thus lessening the number of combatants as they advanced towards the point to be attacked, and for this purpose there were but 3 battalions available, so an additional reinforcement of 2 battalions of infantry was considered necessary and fortunately the Government shared the opinion of the Commander-in-chief, and telegraphed that when the time came when he actually required further help, it would be sent him without delay. On the 7th November General Vetter sent the telegram and on the 10th the order was issued . . .

Before it could be deemed safe to direct operations exclusively against Tjakra it was imperative to drive away the Balinese in occupation of the North-East of Mataram still in communication with Tjakra and forming an observation corps as it were in our midst and ready to take the offensive at the proper time.

The day on which the Commander-in-Chief telegraphed for his reinforcements General Segov started at 4.30 a. m. with two battalions, the 6th and the 7th, two sections of mountain artillery, two sections of engineers, the necessary train and some cavalry in order to clear the kampong of Mondjok of the enemy, lay it waste and, if considered expedient, construct a fort there.

About 7 a. m. two companies of the 6th and two of the 7th battalion were in the front line in the North East of Mataram; each company had a section thrown out as skirmishers, and was supported by the second. The first line was followed at a short distance by a second composed of one company of each battalion. The whole movement was covered by one reserve company behind each battalion and the artillery was temporarily divided amongst them.

The advance proceeded slowly, all obstacles were cleared away with spades, hatchets and pick-axes; half an hour later the company of the left wing (7th battalion) saw some armed Balinese, probably advanced outposts, taking flight. This retreat was immediately followed by a vigorous beating of the tom-toms at Moudjok, whereupon firing began, proceeding chiefly from the trees and was replied to by a few rounds from the artillery; the Balinese who fortunately for us shot very badly on this occasion—not one of our troops was hit—fled at the end of a quarter of an hour. Moudjok was soon occupied and the adjoining kampong of Bangkal Tjoelik offered no resistance whatever; on the contrary several Sassaks advanced with white flags and the Netherlands colours.

The right wing (6th battalion) was not long in pushing the enemy out of the kampong of Taman-Radja, they having fled to the front of Tjakra, which was immediately placed under fire.

Meanwhile the work of devastation was being proceeded with, walls were laid low and trees were chopped down; many weapons were found here and a quantity of things were recovered that had belonged to the 7th battalion, formerly stationed near here. As the work was pushed forward it became evident there was no suitable place for a fortified post, besides which there appeared no need for one.

The troops return; Mataram was entirely vacated by the enemy and with the exception of Moudjok, completely laid waste. But what a terrible task it was and how many thousands of hands worked at it for weeks together!

Was this complete destruction—and the same applies to Pagasangan and Pasinggahan—necessary or of any use? Was it necessary from a military point of view? We read in the official report that already on the 10th October, Mataram was in so far destroyed as to render re-occupation by the enemy impossible; how is it then that a whole month later it was considered unsafe to besiege Tjakra? Surely we cannot put down this wholesale destruction to a spirit of revenge. It is natural that at the beginning there was a strong desire to atone for the first disaster, but weeks afterwards more dispassionate reasoning ought to have prevailed; but we are convinced that mere anger and vengeance cannot have been the guiding motives of the Commander-in-chief.

In our opinion it would have been desirable to confine the work of dismantlement within the narrowest limits compatible with safety:

1o. in our own immediate interests to save the strength and health of the troops; and in order to pursue and terminate the operations as soon as possible before the approaching west monsoon;

2o. in our future interests, which demanded the overthrow of our enemy in the least possible space of time, and having forced them to accept our rule, to restore them to their ordinary mode of life and contribute to their welfare. A prosperous people loves peace, is more inclined to order and quiet and is the easiest to govern.

Self-interest and humanity ought to have prevailed.

How many treasures of Balinese art have thus been lost to us!

On the 11th November the iron bridge across the river Djangkok was ready; and to facilitate the transport a beginning was made on the same day with the Decauville railway from Ampenan to Mataram through Kapitan. Our line of communication from the basis of operations (Ampenan) to Pagasangan East being perfectly safe, work of dismantling our post at Pagasangan West was begun also on this day.

On the 14th November General Segov, to whom Captain Willemstijn was attached as Chief of the staff, with a column consisting of the 7th battalion, 100 men of the naval brigade, one section of mountain artillery and 20 cavalry, marched through Kaleh to Pagasangan East, hence in a Southerly direction past the outlying post No. III across the wet sawah to the North frontier of Pagoetan, where they took up position with the object of lending moral support to the Sassaks, continually harassed from Abean Toeboek and by wandering Balinese, and also with the hope of inciting them to more energetic resistance against the latter. After a short time and without having perceived anything of the enemy they set out on the return march at a quarter past ten.

These days were busy ones, spent in general improvements; the Decauville line was pushed rapidly forward and the accommodation for both officers and men at Kapitan was being worked at; stables were also put up for the artillery horses, a large quantities of sand was brought up from the beach to repair the roads and a large supply of provisions was laid in. Stores and ammunition were transported daily to the posts and batteries, which needed to be well equipped for the coming action.

On the 16th and 17th November, the two days previous to the actual assault, a heavy bombardment, of 60 to 80 rounds per gun, was to be directed against Tjakra by all the batteries.

The main object of attack was of course the poeri; but each battery was given a special objective. The three 12 cm. howitzers and the one 12 cm. and a gun at Pagasangan East were to direct their fire against the South of Tjakra, viz., Panaraga and Abean Toeboek. The 7 cm. gun at Karang-Bedil against Soeita and the East of Tjakra, about 4000 yards distant; the three 12 cm. guns of this post were to fire at Toh-pati (North Tjakra) and also to put the west front of Tjakra under fire, south of the high road, to breach the walls for the advance of the troops and to force the enemy to abandon that face. With this object one of the 12 cm. guns of Padjang was also put into requisition, as well as the three mortars which were stationed there and with which it would be impossible to reach the Poeri. The

second 12 c. gun at Padjang was to direct its fire against Toh-pati and the village of Sajang, North of Tjakra.

On the 16th November all the ships of the expeditionary Naval force were collected in the harbour of Ampenan; the *Tromp* had come from her cruising station in Kombal-bay, on the 12th; on the 15th the *Bali* and the *Prins Hendrik* had arrived from the North coast. On the 17th the *Borneo* added her fire to the land batteries and threw 100 shells into Tjakra Nagara.

The *Prins Hendrik*, the *Borneo*, the *Tromp* and the *Bali*, disembarked their Naval Brigade (184 men) on the 17th and they were to occupy the garrison of Kapitan during the operations against Tjakra.

Out of the Naval Brigade already on shore 60 men are to assist in the capture of Tjakra, 60 others are to occupy Kaleh and 20 others the outpost of the river Anjar.

## XI.

### FRESH REINFORCEMENTS. FALL OF TJAKRA NAGARA.

Amidst great demonstrations of sympathy the two battalions appointed to reinforce the expedition left their respective stations:

The 5th, composed of 18 officers, 575 soldiers, 2 officers' horses with 23 women, left Semarang on the *Gouverneur Generaal's Jacob* and the 11th of the same strength started on the "*Reael*" from Meester Cornelis.

Early in the morning of the 16th November the *G. G.'s Jacob* entered the harbour of Ampenan and by nine o'clock the 5th battalion was quartered in the old barracks on the shore. The "*Reael*" arrived in the afternoon, but owing to the heavy surf and the lateness of the hour the disembarkation was postponed until the following morning, when by 10 a.m. the 11th battalion also reached the bivouac of Ampenan.

Much to the disappointment of the 5th battalion they were not to take any active part in the prospective attack, but were to take turns in relieving the different posts with the Naval Brigade, thus leaving five complete battalions for actual fighting: the 2nd, 6th, 7th, 9th and 11th.

On the 16th November detachments of the 5th were despatched to relieve the occupation of posts I, II and III.

In the afternoon all the commanders of regiments were summoned to a conference with the Commander-in-chief to receive their orders for the action intended for next day. We give the orders in full to show how much foresight is needed and how even the smallest detail is thought of preparatory to such a serious undertaking:

EXPEDITION TO LOMBOCK.

Order of the day.

*Headquarters, Ampenan.*
*17 November 1895.*

To-morrow, 18th November, an attack will be made on Tjakra Nagara with the view of capturing the town and more especially the

palace of the Prince. The troops appointed to take part in the attack are:

The 2nd battalion of infantry.
„ 6th „ „ „
„ 7th „ „ „
„ 9th „ „ „
„ 11th „ „ „
one company of Madurese;
60 men of the Naval Brigade;
one detachment of cavalry (orderlies);
two sections of field artillery;
two sections of mountain artillery;
two sections of Cohorn mortars;
three sections of engineers.

The 1st column under Major-General Segov, attached to whom as Staff Officer is 1st Lieutenant de Greve, will consist of the 6th battalion, two companies of the 11th, one section of mountain guns, one section of engineers, three gunners with hand grenades, six cavalry orderlies and 125 convicts with entrenching tools.

The 2nd column, under Colonel Swart, with Major van Koten as Staff-Officer, of the 2nd battalion of infantry, two Cohorn mortars, one section of engineers, three gunners with hand grenades, four cavalry orderlies and 125 convicts with tools.

The 3rd column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Scheurer, with Captain Willemstijn as staff-officer, of the 2nd battalion, two companies of the 11th battalion, two Cohorn mortars, one section of engineers, three gunners with hand grenades, four cavalry orderlies and 125 convicts with material.

The 4th (reserve) column under Major Willems of the 7th battalion of infantry, one company of the Madurese troops, 60 men of the Naval Brigade two sections of field artillery, one section of mountain artillery and 75 convicts.

The 2nd battalion of infantry and two companies of the 9th, now occupying the posts, are to be relieved in time by the 5th battalion.

The attack on Tjakra Nagara is to take place from the west. The different columns must march so that the three first reach the West front of Tjakra by 5.30 a. m.; Scheuer's column is to be on the right, Swart's in the middle and Segov's on the left.

Scheuer's column is to rest its left flank on the high road from Mataram to Tjakra, and extend as far the nearest road Southwards, which runs East and West: in order to secure its right flank, this column is stronger, than the centre one. Swart's column is to advance between the main road and the Antjar stream, while the right flank of Segov's column also rests on the Antjar.

In order that the various columns may reach the points of attack in good time they are to start in the following order:

Two companies of the 9th batalion, two companies of the 11th, three gunners with hand grenades, two Cohorn mortars, one section of engi-

neers, four cavalry orderlies, 125 convicts and the relieving divisions for Kaleh and Pagasangan East are to start from Ampenan at 3.30 a. m. for Pagasangan East via Kaleh. The troops appointed to relieve these posts will march on ahead, so that no time may be lost in effecting the exchange and the troops stationed at the posts must be in marching order when the fighting column comes up. Two cavalry orderlies are to remain stationed at Kaleh and two at Pagasangan East to carry information backwards and forwards, whilst the four available cavalry soldiers now at Pagasangan East are to be attached to Scheuer's column, but will temporarily stay at Mataram with the reserve column.

At 3.45 a.m. six cavalry troopers, one section of engineers, three gunners with hand grenades, two Cohorn mortars, 125 convicts, besides two sections of field- and the section of mountain artillery of the reserve column and the troops appointed for the relief of the garrisons at Arong-Arong, Mataram-Poeri, and the posts on the Antjar, Karang-Bedil and Padjang, are to march from Ampenan to Padjang via Arong-Arong and Mataram-poeri. The troops that are to garrison Karang-Bedil march by Mataram-Poeri; the relieved garrison also goes via Mataram-Poeri to Padjang to join the second column. Two cavalry troopers remain at Mataram-Poeri and two at Padjang to carry orders and instructions, whilst the remaining two with the two already at his disposal are to act as orderlies to Colonel Swart. At 4 a. m. the first or left column (at the head) and the fourth or reserve column besides the field and mountain artillery are to march from Kapitan to Mataram.

During all these marches the utmost stillness and silence are to be observed.

At 4.30 a.m. 20 cavalry troopers with one officer must hold themselves in readiness, to be disposed of as desired by the Commander-in-chief.

The men are to be in marching order without knapsacks, but must carry their quilts and over-coats. In addition to his 60 cartridges, every man must take 20 more in his trousers-pockets, and in his haversack ketoepat (cooked rice in little bags of plaited cocoanut leaves) and a two day's supply of "dendeng" (smoked meat) or sardines; the coolies will carry "hollands" enough for two days. The cooking utensils are to be taken, with cooks, cooks-mates and four kitchen coolies to each company—these are to be stationed at Mataram-Poeri.

At least four scaling-ladders ought to be carried by each company. Each battalion can have at its disposal 64 convicts to carry reserve ammunition, 76 for the ambulance, 16 for the kitchen utensils, 12 to carry the gin and 32 for the scaling-ladders, in all 200.

Every section of mortars is to have 48 convicts.

Any corps unprovided with a sufficient number of convicts may obtain the number wanted by applying through the Chief of the Staff to the Commander of the general transport.

The meal hours are to be as follows:

The men are to breakfast before starting, while the cooked rice and

vegetables carried by each man, and the provision of smoked meat or sardines for the day is to be used for supper. At Mataram-Poeri cooked rice and vegetables will only be prepared for the following day; after that, dinner will be cooked for the whole column which will be carried from there to Tjakra Nagara, as also the breakfast (including ground coffee) for the next day. The necessary victuals will be stored at Mataram-Poeri. The coffee for the next morning is to be made by the men at Tjakra Nagara; after having used the kettles to make it with, they must be taken back to Mataram-Poeri. The transport will then return to Tjakra with the day's provision of "ketoepat" which is to be distributed to the men and carried in their haversacks.

The artillery attached to the various columns are to feed with the infantry. The Reserve Column, including the Commander-in-chief and the Chief of the Staff, as also Lieutenant-Colonel Hamerster—attached to the Commander-in-chief—will at the commencement of the operations be stationed east of Padjang, about where the 7th battalion was formerly located.

If the troops require more ammunition it can be fetched by the infantry from Padjang and Mataram-Poeri or by the mounted artillery from the various posts according to the orders of their commanding officers; reserve hand grenades may be procured from the artillery sections of the first, second and third column and at Mataram-Poeri.

Both at Padjang and at Mataram-Poeri there are depôts of engineering material, in the event of forts having to be constructed at Tjakra Nagara; at Mataram-Poeri 150 lanterns are stored.

All Commanders of regiments and companies and all other officers are particularly warned that no place is to be burned without leave of the Commander-in-Chief or the Chief of the Staff.

During the operations Major Laceulle will be in command at the bivouac at Ampenan and Captain Otken at that of Kapitan.

By order:
(Signed) DE MOULIN.
Chief of the Staff.

Once again it is a Saturday night and again too we are dealing with Tjakra Nagara! but this time the parts in the drama are reversed and it is we who are going to attack the enemy in their stronghold. The day of retribution is about to dawn!

At the appointed hour the columns were on the march, but not a sound was heard; they intended to surprise the enemy! The moon lighted up the path; they can hear in the distance that the posts are keeping up a vigorous fire, the heavy cannon never ceases for one single instant; as many as ten projectiles being hurled into Tjakra at one time; the sound of the explosions is terrific and every now and then a red streak in the sky shows the beginning of a fire* The troops are filled with

* As was discovered later, the enemy had unroofed many of the houses, so that there were not many large fires, which was fortunate, as they would have caused great obstruction to our troops.

enthusiasm; they see that the long desired result is close at hand, Tjakra Nagara is bound to fall!

The right column, (Scheuer's) which had started at 3 a.m. and relieved the garrisons of the 9th battalion at Kaleh and Pagasangan East, reached Doesoen Gebang, a small kampong East of Pagasangan at about 4.30 a.m., following in a North Easterly direction the road from there to Tjakra Nagara; since the last reconnaissance had been made, a couple of days before, the roads had got into a bad state, so that it was nearly daybreak when the column arrived at the west front of Tjakra. Without seeing anything of the enemy they succeeded in taking up their allotted place covered by a company and a half of the 11th battalion. Suddenly at about 5.30 a.m. heavy firing was heard from the North, indicating that the left column was already engaged with the Balinese and that further surprise was out of the question. The enemy had been driven from the West front by our artillery and was now defending the interior of the capital with the greatest pertinacity and it would be necessary to fight for it inch by inch. Each homestead must be captured one by one and every few steps there were fresh walls to be thrown down or pierced. Time after time small bodies of troops advanced lance or spear in hand and flung themselves on our soldiers; true they met their own death in this desperate struggle, but at a terrible cost of men to our side. In this fashion fifteen cross roads or alleys had to be traversed before reaching the main road running from North to South from Teliwang to Abean Toebock; notwithstanding that the distance was passed as quickly as possible, we sustained considerable loss from the

"Balinese Lady."

Balinese shooting from the trees and walls on the South. At one of the last side roads before the main road from Tjakra Nagara to Mataram, four Balinese rushed forward with their lances; three met almost instantaneous death, whilst the fourth, although wounded, rushed onwards and thrust his spear into Captain Scheib, who succumbed immediately; the infuriated soldiers showed no mercy and the fourth man was soon disposed of. It was a frightful sight, some men even hid amongst their wives and children, who asked "ampon" (mercy) for them. But the duty of self-defence permits of no forgiveness here.

Women, magnificently dressed and belonging to the highest, the Brahmin caste, threw themselves blindly amongst our troops trying to defend themselves with spears, but they too met their death as their husbands had done. They sought death in preference to dishonour! They had been made to believe that if they lived they would be handed over to our soldiers as concubines and they preferred death to the shame of being treated as the despised caste of Sudras.

Scheuer's column reached the high road from Teliwang to Abean Toeboeh at 11 o'clock; here they saw a division of the centre column (Swart's) hurriedly retreating from the west wall of the large poeri, the former residence of the chief, North East of the cross-roads. Had it been repulsed? And what had it being doing in the interval?

Although this column had started a quarter of an hour later than the right column it was able to enter Tjakra Nagara at 5.15 a.m. on the West between the high road and the river Antjar when the bombardment had ceased. Nothing was visible of the enemy and the greater part of the walls and homesteads were destroyed, the few remaining ones being deserted and everything around testified to the successful work of our artillery; Swart's column was able to penetrate 300 mètres inside the town without meeting the enemy, who was evidently surprised. However, as soon as the first shot was fired in the North, the tomtom summoned all the Balinese and henceforward the column's advance met with the same energetic resistance as Scheuer's, and, as at the capture of Mataram, most of our losses were caused from the Balinese posted in the trees. Many bands of both men and women impeded our progress with their spears; in every case they paid for it with their lives, but not without inflicting considerable loss on our soldiers.

The nearer the columns came to the central point of defence, the more obstinate and fierce was the resistance encountered; and thus pushing forward steadily they arrived near the N. W. Poeri, the former headquarters; in their endeavours to take this point the troops were furiously fired upon on the right wing from the S. W. Poeri, so it was necessary to capture this stronghold before advancing towards the residence of the Prince. Colonel Swart advanced to the front line to give his orders and directions and after a few vollies, the 3rd company under Captain Van den Ende and a portion of the 2nd under Lieutenant Heijtman advanced towards the S. W. poeri, and, at the head of a section of Amboynese, Captain Van den Ende penetrated into one of the squares

densely occupied by the Balinese; there was a short sharp hand to hand fight and 26 Balinese lay dead on the ground, 16 having been killed with the bayonet. The S. W. poeri was very soon in our possession, but it had cost the life of Lieutenant Ancona.

At about 11 a.m. they were able to attack the North-East poeri; the right wing (4th company) under Captain Koch attacked the West wall of the poeri; there were however no breaches to pass through and the wall was too high to climb and there were no scaling ladders at hand; a section of engineers succeeded in laying a breaching charge of dynamite and it was just when they were running away from the wall, to await the result at a distance, that Major Scheuer's column appeared at the cross-roads.

As soon as the charge had exploded (near space 4, see plan of poeri at Tjakra Nagara) the 1st and 2nd sections hurried to the breach; the European fusilier Van der Klamp, was the first to enter and was soon followed by the men of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd section, the last being replaced by the 4th in the high road running West to East and followed with their fire the retreating enemy. It was Swart's column who were the first to penetrate the poeri; they were inside, but how were they to get on beyond it?

The three sections now found themselves in spaces 4 and 3, leading to space 15 by a narrow street and a gate; through a hole in the wall they could see the enemy and they shot a few of them down, with the result that some took to flight and others rushed towards them through the narrow doorway; all, who were not killed in their attempt to pass through the door, were killed as soon as they came upon our men in the space now occupied by us. The street and space 15 were subsequently occupied by the 4th company.

Whilst Captain Koch was trying to push north in the poeri, Major Scheuer had forced his way into space 15. On arrival at the cross roads one company of the right column showed front to the South; one detachment occupied the ground South and South East of the poeri, another further East of the high road to Narmada and one company succeeded in taking the large front square (space 2). The engineers attached to this column effected a breach in the high wall on the east of the square, thus allowing of an advance into space 14, the enemy withdrawing still further into the interior and the next movement brought about the meeting of the two columns in space 15. Before proceeding with the account of these two columns in their long and bitter conflict, let us see what had befallen the left column, who contrary to all anticipations had found themselves confronted with the main body of the Balinese.

When Segov's column, having marched from Ampenan half an hour later than the right column, reached a point West of Padjang about 5 a.m., they crossed the river Antjar and fell into their line of battle at 5.15 a.m. East of Jaman-Radja: The 1st company on the right, the 4th on the left wing, the 2nd in the middle, the 1st section in all cases

being in the fighting line, the 2nd about twenty paces behind. The 3rd company formed the reserve.

After marching along the north frontier of Tjakra in this order about a distance of 450 yards, the column was perceived by the enemy, but the few Balinese occupying the sawah were soon put to flight by a couple of vollies from the 1st company.

This was, however, immediately followed by severe firing from the front of Tjakra, which was energetically responded to by the advancing column. The 2nd company of Amboynese under Captain Schreijner took up position on an eminence, whence they fired steadily, causing extensive damage. The section of mountain artillery on the left flank directed their fire against the sawah tract north of Seliwang to prevent assistance from that quarter being brought to Tjakra. Advancing further eastwards Schreijner's company had to endure an especially heavy fire from behind the walls. After uniting the 1st section of the right—with the left wing Captain Schreijner advanced and was immediately followed by the entire company, who were soon inside the narrow northern portion of Tjakra which had been assigned to Segov's column as point of attack.

"A section of mountain artillery on march."

While the section of mountain artillery continued for a time in the position they had taken up, the leading sections pushed forward with all their strength to the high road of Teliwang and the cross roads were reached at 7 a.m. According to their instructions, they endeavoured to proceed southwards to the poeri, but at this point they were overwhelmed by the Balinese who had been driven away from

West Tjakra by Swart's and Scheuer's columns; the enemy's forces were so numerous that the position was only held with the greatest difficulty and with much loss.

The reserve was called up to cover the left wing and the artillery left to take care of itself.

General Segov tried in vain to effect a junction with the centre column; a change of front Southwards was impossible without it, the enemy on the right hand flank holding too many of our troops in check.

The reserve on the left flank were repulsed in an assault against a Dewa temple standing east of the high road from Teliwang and the situation was becoming dangerous.

At 7.30 a.m. General Segov sent word to the Commander-in-chief that he could not effect a junction with Swart's column and that reinforcements were needed to make the change of front as ordered, possible.

This news was received by the Commander-in-chief at 8 a.m. Neither of the other columns had yet reached the large poeri, the chief goal, and both had still to face a severe struggle, the result of which could hardly be foreseen.

General Vetter sent an answer by two cavalry orderlies to the effect, that no reinforcements could as yet be sent, but that a message was being sent to Swart's column to push north and try and join the left column.

The orderlies were unable to pass through Tjakra and deliver the answer, everywhere they were met by the enemy and were obliged to return to the Commander-in-chief, who meanwhile had arrived nearer the poeri.

Colonel Segov's column was meantime in a bad way and many of his brave men had been laid low—it grew later and later and yet he received no answer to his request and no relief;—finally he sent his staff-officer, de Greve, to the Commander-in-chief with the question: "whether in spite of all the difficulties he was to try and effect a change of front southwards, or whether he should try to re-cross the Antjar and join Colonel Swart's column"?

Lieutenant de Greve fell in with General Vetter at the cross roads, just as the latter was giving orders to two companies of the 7th battalion from the general reserve, to go to the relief of the left column along the high road to the cross-roads of Teliwang. Now that the Commander-in-chief found himself master of the main cross-roads and inside a portion of the poeri, he felt himself in a position to despatch some of the general reserve to the help of the left column.

What had the reserve been doing in the meantime?

It left Ampenan at the same time as Segov's column and had at first taken up a position on the high road Mataram-Tjakra Nagara, south of Padjang, subsequently slowly following the advancing movement of Swart's and Scheuer's columns. Once inside Tjakra its progress had been much impeded by the destruction that had been wrought to the roads and a good deal of clearing was necessary before it could

proceed with the ordnance. Whilst advancing they also cleared the roads of all enemies they met, knocked down walls or made large passages through them. They fell in with a good number of Balinese both north and south of the high road attempting to pursue the rear of the advancing columns and, thus fighting their way onward, the reserve arrived at the cross roads just as Swart's and Scheuer's columns were about to attack the poeri. They had just posted themselves there with the two companies of the 11th battalion of the left columns when the orders of the Commander-in-chief reached them.

"High road inside Tjakra Nagara."

The two companies of the 7th battalion appointed to relieve the left column immediately advanced along the high road to Teliwang, crossed the river Antjar and threatened in the rear the Balinese attacking General Segov's right flank. These, now freed from the enemy, made with the help of the two fresh companies a movement north, in order to attack the Dewa-temple as ordered; but by the time the troops entered the enemy had fled. The walls of the temple were at once levelled to the ground and the remainder of the captured position cleared as much as possible. Subsequently the column advanced to the cross roads and the exhausted troops arrived there about 1 p. m.

During this time the advance in the poeri had been continued: after occupying space 15, one section managed to penetrate into the passage between 5 and 16, but was severely attacked by Balinese with spears. However the enemy were overmastered and an advance north was made by the three sections from space 5, the passage way and space 16.

Whilst the 1st and 3rd companies of the 2nd battalion were pushing

forward North and North East, Scheuer's column was advancing along the south extending his line eastwards.

Amidst continuous fighting they captured the West and North East spaces, advancing as far even as the Majoera, the eastern portion of the poeri; but all attempts to capture the central portion were in vain. Here the Balinese had taken up position and had strongly fortified the high surrounding walls. This portion of the poeri proved to be the actual residence of the prince, space 22A. B. C. and 23 the treasury.

Here the Balinese fought with the energy of despair to defend their prince and his treasure.

Lieutenant Gerlach faced the redoubt with his section in space 17, Lieutenant Oudshoorn with his in space 18 and Lieutenant Verwey Mejan occupied space 24 with two sections.

Every endeavour made by the column from these points as well as all attempts made by the 1st and 3rd companies of the 2nd battalion to penetrate deeper into the palace remained without the slightest effect. Neither the fire of the guns against this fortified group of houses, nor the 12 c.m. shells thrown in by hand, not even setting fire to one of the buildings north of the fortified post could induce the Balinese to surrender their stronghold. Picked shots entrenched in the innermost building of the prince's abode shot down with repeaters every man who raised his head above the protecting walls.

In vain too were all the efforts of Scheuer's column; finally two mountain guns were brought into requisition and at less than 25 paces distance fifty shells were thrown against the fortified houses; the fire of the enemy was silenced;—it looked as if they no longer intended defending themselves. A third attempt to penetrate was made and Lieutenant Müller entered as far as the front gallery without receiving any fire; the barricaded door was thrown open. He thought himself master of the situation—but once inside fire poured upon him from all sides, and it was only by a miracle that he returned with his wounded.

The artillery once again opened fire on the houses, another company, the first of the 9th battalion, made one more assault; but in vain, the troops were again repulsed with heavy losses.

It was now 3 p. m. and no apparent progress was being made. Major Scheuer sent word to the Commander-in-chief at the cross roads of the state of affairs and to ask for further orders.

The troops, who had not tasted food or drink for twelve hours and had been fighting nearly the whole time, were absolutely done up with exhaustion and fatigue. The hour was too far advanced now for a systematic dismantlement, even should the stronghold fall into their hands, so the Commander-in-chief decided to put an end to the operations for that day and allow the men time to recover before proceeding any further. At 2.30 p. m. food was been brought up from Mataram-poeri to Tjakra under the personal supervision of Major van Berg of the transport.

The 9th battalion with a section of engineers were appointed to occupy during the night the Dewa-temple South of the Majoera, whilst three

companies of the 11th battalion and one section of engineers were left in another temple, lying South West of the high road, but just bordering on it.

Both positions were strengthened as much as possible from the stores of engineering material at Padjang and Mataram-Poeri. About 4 p. m. the troops not told off to occupy Tjakra assembled in the high road and marched to their respective quarters, reaching Kapitan and Ampenan about 6 p. m., where they were most enthusiastically received and hoped to enjoy a well-earned rest. It was not to be a long one however, as a hot contest was anticipated on the morrow before the enemy's last stronghold was taken.

At 5.30 a. m. on the following day, 19th November, a column under General Segov advanced from Kapitan; it was composed of the 2nd and 6th battalions, three companies of the 7th, one company of the 11th, two companies of Madurese, two sections of field and one section mountain artillery, two cohorn mortars, one section of engineers, in addition to all the available convicts of the general train.

On their arrival at the cross-roads at Tjakra Nagara they learned from the troops left in occupation that the night had been undisturbed; but that the sentries had heard people moving inside the poeri and furthermore that a scouting party sent out at daybreak found that the space so stoutly defended by the Balinese on the previous day had been deserted but was being looted by a mass of people, who quickly dispersed at the sound of the rifles. The treasury of the prince was discovered, where in a chamber 16 ft. 9 ins. by 16 ft. 9 ins., rijksdaalders were heaped up to the height of 2 ft., besides which there were many objects in gold, precious stones and endless valuable curiosities.

But where was the old prince himself?

According to report he had been wounded the previous day during the siege of his palace and his faithful followers had conveyed him during the night to Sasari, a kampong north of Tjakra Nagara on the road to Lingsar.

On receipt of this news the Commander-in-chief with the Chief of the staff made the following disposition for the troops:

The 6th battalion were to clear the ground north and south of the high road—the west entrance to Tjakra Nagara, breaking down all the walls possible, to begin with those running along the high road; subsequently they were to clear the road, so that traffic might not be impeded.

Two companies of the 11th battalion were to dismantle the Dewa-temple, S. West of the cross roads, where they spent the night. When this was accomplished they were to open up the ground lying around the temple occupied during the night by the 9th battalion, as this temple was intended for occupation by the troops.

Three companies of the 7th battalion were to prepare this temple to accommodate the troops and put it in a state of defence and occupy these quarters when the remaining troops returned to Ampenan and Kapitan.

The 9th battalion and one section of engineers were to place the most

S. W. portion of the poeri and the one containing the treasury in a thorough state of defence. One company, the 4th of the above-named battalion, was especially charged to guard the treasury and pack up all the money and treasure found.

The Madurese were to guard the cross-roads.

A column commanded by colonel Swart, consisting of the 2nd battalion, two companies of the 11th, one section of mountain artillery, one section of engineers and 12 cavalry soldiers with one officer, received orders to make a reconnaissance in an easterly direction, (towards Soeita) to try and reach the east exit of Tjakra Nagara and to carefully examine the ground on both sides.

During their march many Balinese implored to have their lives and homesteads spared and the request was granted on condition that they broke down the walls enclosing them and those running along the streets, but, in case of refusal, everything was levelled to the ground.

The population immediately set to work to fulfil these conditions and further showed their good will by offering the soldiers cocoa-nuts and drinking water.

Swart's column reached the goal of the march without encountering any hostility or resistance.

Many inhabitants of the captured town came to make their submission to the Commander-in-chief and were informed by the Resident of Bali and Lombock that their lives and dwellings would be spared, if they complied with the above mentioned conditions. The Commander of Narmada, Gusti Madé Getas, also came to the General to make his surrender.

In the treasury of the old prince the Commander of the 4th company and his two officers had put 1000 lbs. of gold and 6996 lbs. of silver coins—the latter slightly damaged by fire—into bags and this was only a part of the booty! It was placed on carts for transport to Ampenan, to be received there by a specially appointed committee.

In the course of the day the inhabitants of Tjakra brought back to us two field-guns and a mountain gun left behind in our retreat three months before. There was still one piece of ordnance missing and this too they promised to bring, everything was progressing beyond our expectations.

Alas! once again our victory was marred as it was after the capture of Mataram.

Whilst Captain Tuinenburg was engaged superintending the emptying of a powder magazine of the poeri into the big pond in the Majoera lest the fire from a neighbouring house should spread to it, a spark appears to have flown across, causing the most frightful explosion. Captain Tuinenburg, shockingly burned, was flung into the pond; Lieutenant Campioni, who was assisting him, was badly scorched and thrown to a great distance; thirteen convicts carrying out the work were so seriously hurt that some died very soon after and the others had to be transported to the hospital at Ampenan.

The whole supply of powder and ammunition was afterwards rendered harmless by the engineers. With the exception of the three companies of the 7th battalion remaining at Tjakra, all the other troops returned to their respective quarters at 4 p.m.

Tjakra Nagara, being taken, we may take a look at the exact position of things and a retrospective glance at the overthrow of Balinese power in Lombock.

The losses on both sides were severe; it is impossible to determine accurately those of the Balinese. No absolute reliance can be placed on the numbers given by natives, however well-intentioned they may be, for they are quite unable to grapple with big figures. But, from the following, some idea may be arrived at.

In their advance from West Tjakra to the poeri, the 3rd company of the 2nd battalion, who met with the least resistance comparatively speaking, counted from 25 to 30 Balinese killed outside the S.W. poeri. If we reckon the losses inflicted by the four companies of Swart's column as being four times this number, we are more likely to under- than over-estimate the figures.

Scheuer's column must have claimed an equal number of victims, so that the total loss inflicted by the two columns before storming the poeri may be put down as between 200 and 300. Adding to this the numbers killed by the left column who met with the longest and most stubborn stand and those killed by the reserve column, we should say the figures would reach 400 to 500.

Inside the poeri 37 dead bodies were found in one room, 17 in another and groups of 3, 4 and 8 were found in several places, so that we may safely assume the number of Balinese that fell at the siege of Tjakra Nagara to be about 600.

Whatever importance may be attached to this, there is no doubt that the Balinese losses were very great; on their scouting expedition on the morning of the 19th on the road to Soeita, Swart's column counted 500 dead bodies in a space some 1300 yds. long by 170 yds. wide. All the houses both right and left of the road were examined, in one there were 18 dead bodies, in another 11, in a third 7, etc. We must, however, bear in mind the custom of the Balinese of keeping their dead above ground and that many bodies may probably have lain there from the date of previous battles or have been brought thither from other neighbourhoods.

But on our side too victory was dearly bought!

Mingled with the shouts of joy and triumph sent up in the mother country, there was sorrow and grief in the hearts of many who have to mourn the loss of a dearly-beloved father, brother, sons or friend.

Captains W. N. Scheib and D. M. Slangen, 2nd Lieutenants J. C. A. d'Ancona, J. W. Schiff and H. A. C van der Heijden all of the infantry and 44 soldiers died a hero's death. Naval Lieutenant 1st class J. C. van Wessem, 1st Lieutenant L. S. M. Wittich, 2nd Lieutenant

H. Holkema, both of the infantry, besides 103 soldiers were wounded.

The medical staff did splendid work; every column had its own ambulance with one or two surgeons; stretchers and carriers were in abundance to carry the wounded as quickly as possible to the head ambulance, stationed opposite the fortified post of Padjang, where a shed about 100 metres long had been erected containing space for 40 men and two operating tables.

After the wounds had been attended to, those who were able to be transported were sent to Ampenan and then on board the hospital ship "*Maetsuijcker*". The delegates of the Red Cross, as well as the head of the Society for mutual Help, provided the sick with all the necessary refreshments. The Senior Chaplain, Offerhous, remained at the head ambulance and the Reverend Father Voogel was with the columns, giving spiritual assistance and comfort to wounded and dying. Major Schuckink Kool conscientiously superintended the burial of the killed. Those who fell in the service of their country received therefore every care and attention. All this, and the consideration of the great object their dead ones helped to achieve, may be of some slight consolation to those who are left to deplore their loss.

"Father F. J. A. Voogel."

The whole of Tjakra bore evidence of the efficiency of our artillery; some parts had naturally suffered more than others; considering the wide area covered by the poeri—700 by 800 yards—with its innumerable walls and divisions, it was of course impossible to lay it in ruins in a few hours, the interior however had fared badly and some portions were entirely destroyd. Oddly enough, the West and South outer wall showed no traces of the bombardment; only a fragment of a shell had caught the upper part at one spot. Besides, we had proofs of the fort artillery doing great execution by their blowing up two powder magazines, known to be in the vicinity of the poeri. We must however not lose sight of the favorable circumstances that permitted our batteries being placed within such a short distance of Tjakra, thus enabling all the guns, even the 20 cm. mortars, to take an effectual share in the bom-

bardment. The siege train may be said to have played a great part in the capture of Pagasangan, Mataram and Tjakra Nagara, but, it was rather in spite of its guns than by them; they left a good deal to be wished for. The best gun was the 12 cm. breachloader, a very good gun, as long as it is not worn out with firing. As we have already mentioned, six had been transported to Lombock, one was placed in battery at Pagasangan, two at Padjang and three at Karang-Bedil; not only were they few in number, but, out of these few, there were only two modern ones, the others being old and thus probably nearly worn out.

Of the four 12 cm. muzzleloaders, brought from the abandoned fort at Tjilatjap, one was completely worn out, and the others, placed in battery at Pagasangan East, though still serviceable, only carried 2530 yards, or, with shrapnel 1760, being thus worth but little. The worst, however, were the wholly antiquated 20 c.m. bronze mortars; six of which had been despatched to Lombock, but half only could be placed in battery against Tjakra (viz., at Padjang.)

When fired with a full charge, their range was only 1500 yards, and had but slight penetration. But with such a large and close target they produced a great moral effect, owing to their large calibre.

The quality of the ammunition was first-rate; it rarely occurred that the shells did not explode and their not doing so might be accounted for by their falling into the large ponds of the poeri.

Regarding the number of rounds fired, it was at first decided that every gun should discharge 30 rounds daily. In order that the enemy might be harassed all day long it was arranged that each of the three batteries should rest two hours for every one hour of firing—the original plan being to maintain this rate for fourteen days, then to double it for three days previous to the actual assault. When, shortly after the commencement of the bombardment, resistance became so stubborn, the roads grew bad, transport more difficult, the unloading of ammunition more complicated, communication with the harbour even interrupted and all the branches of the service severely taxed, some fear was felt that the ammunition would run short if the firing was kept up at this rate, that is to say owing to the many obstacles it might be impossible to replenish the supplies. * It was for this reason and not for lack of ammunition that the Commander-in-Chief ordered a diminution in the rate of firing.

If, then, the bombardment of Tjakra Nagara, both by reason of the guns used and the small quantity of ammunition expended during a certain period, was not quite so vigorous as might otherwise have been both feasible and desirable, no reproach must attach to the staff, who, from the Commander, Major Boetje, downwards, made the very most of what was at their disposal.

* As regards the replenishing of the supplies the guns were regularly provided with a six days' store; considering that the supply was taken to one of the three posts every day, each post must have always had at the very least a three day's allowance of ammunition.

A word of praise too must not be omitted for those responsible away from the actual seat of war, but, who worked indefatigably at the artillery work shops and at the laboratory at Surabaya. By continuous work, sometimes both day and night and even Sundays, this body of men were able to satisfy the heavy demands of the expeditionary forces.

Concerning the actual and final assault, there were of course various ways of undertaking it, to review which would take too much time. The plan adopted was essentially a simple one, an important matter in military operations—skilful and complicated combinations there were none; all three columns had one and the same plainly marked out goal, viz., the cross-roads occupied by the prince's poeri. If we consider, that, notwithstanding this obvious simplicity and distinctness, both of the front attacking columns had to bear the brunt of the fight unaided, that the left column was unable to effect a junction with the centre, that communication could not be kept up by the cavalry orderlies, we have a practical lesson in the difficulties attendant on a combined attack in India. It is clear, that if these take place on a large scale and at great distances, the result hangs merely upon a thread.

The composition and use of the general reserve can only meet with universal approval. Its strength, as far as the infantry was concerned, 4 companies of the twenty available for the assault, was none too great; the other columns could not have been weaker than they were, so that the necessity of further reinforcements, first of one, then of two battalions of infantry, is conclusively proved.

The inference to be drawn regarding the inadequacy of the first expeditionary force is self-evident; for, although the Balinese had time to organize the rebellion, the defence, and especially the peculiar disposition of the place where their chief forces were concentrated, would have been the same in both cases and, although, we cannot but regret the losses and the retreat of the 26th of August, there is not the slightest doubt, but what our disasters would have been far more serious had we attempted to take Mataram and Tjakra Nagara by storm when we first landed. This expedition points in a striking manner to the absolute necessity of sending at the very outset of an expedition sufficient force to meet all eventualities.

The capture of Tjakra Nagara has once more testified to the efficiency of our Indian army and to the magnificent results to be obtained by it. Skilfully led, supported by a clever general staff, headed by men like Segov, Swart and Scheuer, our troops fought with such unflagging energy against a well-armed enemy, defending his hearth and home with desperate resolution, that their heroic courage and contempt of death finally conquered all obstacles in their path.

The crowning point of the combat was the siege and defence of the poeri; here, in the presence of the old rajah himself, the last decisive struggle was fought; this last stronghold was defended with the energy of despair, and both men and women sacrificed themselves literally at

the foot of the throne. Many krissed themselves rather than fall into our hands. *

Let us give honour to our opponents, who, in the days of prosperity, showed every deference to the vanquished and who died like heroes in the time of adversity.

Might not the poeri have been entirely surrounded on the afternoon of the 18th November? We think that the capture of the poeri might have been very probable and that it would have been quite practicable to surround the place; but we consider that the Commander-in-chief showed great discretion in not exacting the uttermost from the exhausted troops and exposing them to a night attack in an unprepared position.

One important way of escape was cut off for the prince and his defenders as a greater part of the territory was occupied by Sassaks, and, any extra money that would have been added to our treasury by continuing the struggle the same day, would have been bought too dear, for it would have cost many more precious lives.

So, without a blow or a shot, the last stronghold of the enemy fell into our hands the next day.

The prophecy of the governor was fulfilled! Our Indian army had maintained its reputation in the most brilliant manner and one more glorious page had been added to the annals of our country.

* In one of the portions of the post, where such a stubborn defence was made on the previous day, 4 women were krissed. One, who was remarkably young and beautiful and belonging to the Brahmin caste, had been one of the old prince's favorites.

## XII.

### FALL OF THE LOMBOCK DYNASTY.

The rebellion was, virtually speaking, terminated the day we captured Tjakra Nagara; but, with a view to the future settlement of affairs, we had still to obtain possession of the Prince and the chief members of his family. The old Rajah having, according to report, fled to Sasari, the most North Easterly point of Tjakra, a column was sent there on the morning of the 20th November, starting from Ampenan at 3.30 a.m. under command of General Segov and composed of the 2nd, 6th, and 11th battalion, one company of the 7th, two companies of Madurese, two sections field- two sections mountain artillery, 4 gunners with hand grenades, two sections of engineers, 22 cavalry soldiers and one cavalry officer, besides all the available convicts.

Reaching the cross-roads of Tjakra at 7.15 a.m. three companies of the 2nd battalion, one company of Madurese and two sections of field-artillery were ordered by the Commander-in-chief to block the various ways leading to the cross-roads and to keep guard, whilst half a section of engineers, under cover of the remaining company of the 2nd battalion, were told off to search the treasury and all other possible receptacles and secure the contents.

The remaining troops and one company of the 5th battalion as well as 100 convicts were to proceed to Sasari, where general Segov, with Major van Kooten and 1st Lieutenant de Greve as Staff-officers, were to try and arrest the prince. From the cross-roads they followed the high road in an Easterly direction, striking north at the second crossing and halted shortly after passing over the Antjar. Meanwhile the cavalry were ordered to ride through the rice-field and reach the road to Lingsar with the utmost speed and post themselves east of Sasari to prevent the prince's escape from this point.

The 6th battalion, with one section of mountain artillery, half a section of engineers and 50 convicts, marched in a N. E. direction to the village of Selakala, where they changed front and took up their position on the road to Lingsar, east of and facing Sasari.

The 11th battalion, a section of engineers and 50 convicts advanced northwards through Poenia and took up position South of the road to Lingsar, also facing Sasari.

The remaining troops—one company of the 5th and one of the 7th battalion, one company of Madurese and one section of mountain artillery—formed the reserve between and in rear of the two first mentioned columns. When these had taken up their appointed positions, the cavalry were relieved and received orders to watch the sawah from the North and North West of Sasari as far as the high road from Teliwang to Abean Toeboeh and to prevent flight in that direction. Whilst nearing the north of Sasari, a few shots were fired at them but they found no serious obstruction on their road.

Two Balinese were now despatched to the prince, calling on him to surrender; flight was impossible and if he did not give himself up of his own free will, force would be used. Who could predict the line of action that he would adopt? The prince was really here with his son, Anak Agong Madé Djilantik, successor to the throne since the death of K'Toet, and with his grandson (son of K'Toet) Anak Agong G'dé Oka. It must be borne in mind that we are now dealing with the brother of the rajah who in 1846 expressed himself as "unable to understand that a Balinese rajah had taken to flight instead of shutting himself up in his Kraton with his people and fighting to his last breath as demanded by the custom of the country and the honour of a rajah."

How differently history would have dealt with the memory of this famous prince, had he acted consistently with the theories he shared in earlier years, and how many humiliations and mortifications he would have been spared.

For two long hours he hesitated, but finally decided to throw himself upon our mercy and to surrender himself, his son and his grandson to General Segov.

Attired in yellow and seated upon a chair, he was carried by his followers to the victor, an event never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it and occupying a memorable place in the history of our Indian warfare. That the surrender might not have any appearance of being a voluntary one and to exclude all false apprehensions from the minds of the Balinese, the request made by the prince, to be carried the whole way by his own attendants was refused.

Six convicts were appointed to carry his chair and two carried the golden pajong (umbrella)—the only remaining symbol of his greatness—to protect the head of the prince against the scorching rays of the sun.

All the columns united in the return march to Ampenan, excepting the 5th, 7th and 11th battalions, who remained to act as escort to the treasure discovered that day, consisting of 7459 lbs. of silver and three cases of valuables. In due course Mataram, or rather the space it once covered, was passed and who can tell the feelings of the prince when he looked round in vain for his former capital.

The prince was temporarily housed in the offices at Ampenan, used hitherto by the General-Staff, and a squadron of infantry mounted guard. The joy of the troops and comrades at Ampenan was boundless!

Three companies of the 7th battalion occupied the Dewa-temple, now put

into a state of defence and one company of this battalion was left in the poeri to guard the treasury.

Various notable Balinese surrendered themselves the same day, amongst others, Anak-Agoeng K'Toet Djilantik Kanginan, grandson of the Rajah's elder brother, who died in 1870. Finally, the last missing gun was brought back by the inhabitants.

Now that we had secured the prince, his son and his grandson, it was the turn of the remaining members of the family and on the 21st November the prince was instructed to write to his relatives at Sasari bidding them come at once to Ampenan. The two Balinese messengers returned with unsatisfactory replies: one member of the family, Anak Agoeng Nengah Karang, a son of the before mentioned elder brother of the prince, had excused himself on the plea of illness, two others were absent, etc.

"Balinese Notables."

On receipt of these replies a column commanded by Colonel Swart, composed of the 6th and 11th infantry battalions, mountain artillery and two companies of Madurese (Captain Otken) marched to Sasari, which they reached at 9 a.m. and surrounded. The members of the prince's family were summoned to surrender and, as the parleying led to nothing, the artillery opened fire on their residence at 11.30 a.m.

The place was soon in flames, and at the same time a terrible noise was heard; from the border of the kampong a brisk fire was directed on our advancing troops on the east side. The reserve were ordered to go to their relief, but, by the time they had reached the fighting line, a terrible drama had taken place.

Whilst the 6th battalion were encircling the kampong more closely, suddenly, and amidst the wildest yells and cries, a whole band of Balinese rushed forth from the burning pile on Captain Schreiner's column.

These were all the remaining members of the reigning family with their suite, poenggawas, idas, gustis, men, women and children; they were ready to seek death and had arrayed themselves in their most

elegant dresses, adorned themselves with jewelry, armed themselves with the sacred kris or spear and, thus prepared, they hurried themselves with all their strength on our soldiers.

This was the famous "poepotan!" *

Our soldiers did not hesitate for a moment; the enemy was quickly decimated; few came within reach of our bayonets, those who were not immediately shot down took their own lives rather than fall into our hands. Amongst those killed in this last struggle were two sons of Madé; Anak Agoeng k'Toet Djilantik Weda and Anak Agoeng Ajoe Madé, a great-grandson of the prince, (Anak Agoeng G'dé Djilantik) the five year old son of Anak Agoeng G'dé Poetoeh, killed at Pagasangan, all the daughters of the Rajah: Anak-Agoeng Ajoe Madé, Anak-Agoeng Ajoe Neugah, Anak-Agoeng Ajoe Karang and Anak-Agoeng Ajoe Praba, and two of his grand-daughters Anak-Agoeng Ajoe Poetoe and Anak Agoeng Ajoe Mas.

Twelve men occupying the highest positions and fifty of the most noted women died like heroes. In this they acted according to Balinese "adat" and they claim our respect and admiration.

After the Madurese took the first line, a further advance was made into the interior of the kampong; this movement produced a heavy fire from the enemy, especially from the trees. Major Frackers, commanding the 6th battalion, was mortally wounded, the gray charger he was riding serving unfortunately as an admirable target to the Balinese. The young 2nd Lieutenant F. Franssen was badly wounded at the same time, but in spite of the loss of blood, led his men to the end of the fight.

In view of this resolute opposition, the 11th battalion, who meanwhile had made a breach in the north wall of the kampong and were within 170 yards of that face of the building, received orders to join the left wing. The two battalions then advanced together and succeeded in reaching a breach in the east wall of the kampong and had already entered, when suddenly—about 1 p.m.—a most terrific explosion took place in a powder magazine close by, presumably ignited by a Balinese posted at the breach. Huge masses of earth, burning straw, pieces of wood, heavy beams were flung up in the air and fell to the ground in the midst of our men and the fire spread to various parts of the kampong; a few minutes later a second explosion was heard and the entire kampong was in a blaze. However, Lieutenants Ter Beek and Wefers Bettink succeeded in leading their native (Javanese) soldiers—all of the 3rd company of the 11th battalion—straight into the middle of the burning kampong, abandoned by the enemy. This company had nothing more to fear from the Balinese, but, unfortunately, the 6th battalion was unacquainted with their entry into the kampong and kept up their fire in that direction, so that their comrades had some difficulty in protecting themselves. When the Commander of the column was informed of the state of affairs, he issued orders for a retreat, considering it inadvisable

* See page 104.

to push further forward into the flames. This circumstance permitted the escape of Anak-Agoeng Neucah Karang, as also of Anak Agoeng G'dé Rai, a son of k'Toet; the former going to Toh-pati, north Tjakra, the latter to the mountain kampong of Awang Madia.

The troops returned to Ampenan carrying the dead body of Major Frackers and one soldier killed and Lieutenant Franssen and 12 soldiers wounded. Great sorrow was felt at the death of Major Frackers, who by his calm demeanour in battle, had won the confidence of all who served under him and was highly esteemed by officers and men alike for his many excellent qualities.

The following day—23rd November— a reconnaissance was made from the Tjakra cross-roads in a southerly direction towards Abean Toeboeh; all the side roads east and west of the high road were thoroughly searched without encountering the smallest display of hostility and the inhabitants set to work willingly to break down the south wall of Tjakra.

On this day a larger proportion of notable Balinese of rank came to surrender than on any previous day and these included Ida K'Toet Wanasari, the head of the Brahmins at Tjakra.

On the same day another important event took place at Ampenan: Controller Liefrinck informed the Prince by a written * communication of the Commander-in-chief's decision to send him to Batavia. However distasteful this news might be, the prince had no choice but to submit.

The prince passed between a double line of soldiers from his temporary dwelling to the shore; not a soul was visible; the soldiers were confined to barracks; there were no salutes; the departure had been kept secret and was hurried as much as possible to avoid any kind of demonstration. The Prince touched the soil of Salamparang for the last time and carried away with him a few handfuls of sand, as a souvenir, to the country to which the company were going to exile him!

He took his seat in the state barge of the *Koningin Emma*, which was towed by the steam launch of the *Tromp* to the *Prins Hendrik*, the man-of-war destined to carry to Batavia the Prince with his son and grandson taken prisoners on the 20th November, as also his grand nephew who surrendered after the fall of Tjakra. Next to the state barge, guarded by the sailors, was a boat of the *Bali* with a launch of the *Tromp*, filled with poenggawas and followers. The steam pinnace of the *Maetsuycker* had in tow a launch with followers of lower rank, and was accompanied by an armed pinnace.

Controller Liefrinck went with the Prince on the *Prins Hendrik*. A few shrill whistles and the man-of-war left the harbour of Lombock carrying into exile the last Rajah of the island.

On the 24th November many more notable chiefs surrendered and on the 25th another member of the family was brought to Ampenan, the rajah's eight year old son: Anak-Agoeng K'Toet Oka, who lived

* This appears to have been the only way of communicating with him. Although the prince's mind was perfectly clear, he was too deaf to confer with verbally.

with his mother Duida Pateniah—a Sassak—in the kampong of Soekaradja and whom one of the chiefs had induced to surrender. But Anak-Agoeng Nengah Karang was still at Toh-pati.

The next day, 26th November, a column, composed of half a battalion of infantry, one half troop of cavalry, one section mountain artillery and one section of engineers commanded by General Segov, marched on this place. From the cross-roads at Tjakra they proceeded northwards; the 6th battalion took up position in the kampong of Teliwang, the remainder of the troops in the sawah north of Toh-pati, where the artillery set up their battery; the last summons to surrender remaining unanswered, fire was opened on the residence of the members of the prince's family. Shortly afterwards a gate was opened on the west front of Toh-pati; a few minutes later Anak-Agoeng Nengah Karang appeared, carried in his chair by his followers and surrounded by a few others who had continued faithful to him.

Our troops directed a heavy fire towards the approaching group; struck by many bullets, the prince died in his chair, his friends falling around him, including men, women and one child!

The troops penetrated into the kampong and were received with a good deal of opposition, but, after some steady fighting, the Balinese were driven to flight; but many notable men and women were killed in this last engagement.

On our side the casualties were: one soldier killed and five wounded. K"Toet's son, Anak-Agoeng G'dé Rai, who had fled to the mountains, was brought from his hiding place by two poenggawas and taken to Ampenan on the 29th November and later to Batavia with his wife, Ni Dami, his mother Djéro Mimbar, and the Rajah's young son, Anak-Agoeng K"Toet Oka, with the boy's mother, Adinda Patimah.

Meanwhile the old Prince had arrived at Batavia and, in spite of all the measures taken by the Government to keep the arrival quiet, the news had become known, and early on the morning of the 28th November, thousands of spectators gathered at Tandjong Priok to witness the arrival. There was a great deal of activity on the man-of-war, where the Resident and many other civil officials went on board to receive the prisoners.

A section of marines were landed and a guard was placed along the quay before the Rajah disembarked. He looked very old and a few grey hairs showed themselves from beneath his head-covering, he wore a yellow silk jacket and a short sarong. On his upper lip was a plaister and his body was bandaged where he had been wounded while defending the poeri.

Whilst he was being carried in his chair across the gangway, murmurs were heard amongst the multitude, and here and there an oath, but there was no disorder. The Rajah was followed by the crown prince and then came the rest of the suite accompanied by the officials, causing considerable surprise to the crowd.

A couple of carriages in the train had been reserved for the prison-

ers; looking up at this strange conveyance with a kind of childish fear, the prince was lifted up into it by his attendants, his wounds impeding his movements, and his son and grandson entered the same compartment, as also Heer Liefrinck and various officials. The second carriage was for the suite and was accompanied by the sheriff.

The train left the station amid the shouts of the people and all along the line there were crowds waiting to catch a glimpse of the prisoners; they left the train at Koningsplein and the rest of the journey was made in hired carriages and they were escorted to their final destination by a detachment of cavalry in addition to various other military officials; a residence had been prepared for the princes at Janah Abang under the direction of the sheriff. *

Meanwhile, all the poenggawas, pedandas and the entire population of Balinese at Lombock had surrendered; inspections were made every day in the different districts: 27th—29th November Colonel Swart visited Narmada; 30th November General Segov marched to Lingsar; the 1st December an expedition went to Rembega and Gunong Sari; there was not a vestige of opposition anywhere; peace prevailed everywhere; the bazaars were busily frequented as of old, and the people throughout showed obedience and good will.

The time had now arrived when some attempt could be made to introduce order into the disorganized state of the island. The Commander-in-chief was assisted by G. A. Scherer, director of Internal Government, who had started once more for Lombock on the 17th November according to instructions from the Government, who knew that political discussions would be the order of the day after the fall of Tjakra. All the Sassak chiefs were summoned to meet the Commander-in-chief on the West coast for the purpose of holding a conference; besides Mami Sapian, Goeroe Bangkol, also chief of Praja, answered to the summons, bringing with him this time the Balinese Prince Datoe Pangeran, who was at once—December 9th—shipped off on the *Tromp*, to Buitenzorg. Goeroe Bangkol had put forward as many difficulties to the departure as he could; but he was given to understand that the Governor General insisted upon it and he was bound to submit to the inevitable, and thus another obstacle was removed from our path.

Various posts were already being dismantled and the time was approaching when the greater part of the troops could return home. Some took their departure early in December, including the 5th, 6th, 7th and 9th battalions, the artillery, cavalry, engineers, departmental corps, and auxiliaries not appointed for occupation of the island.

In the beginning of the work we spoke of the enthusiasm displayed towards the departing soldiers, but it was insignificant in comparison to

* Besides the prince, his son, grandson and nephew the other state prisoners at Janah Abang were: the poenggawas Gusti Njoman Wanasara Jogok, Dewa G'dé Pinatih Dèddèk Gusti Neugah Penida Dekdak, Gusti Wajan Jedoekh, four men and four women servants. On the 5th December the prince's youngest son and his mother Dinda Patimah were also conveyed here, and one male and one female servant.

the cordiality and excitement which prevailed on their return, we will only mention one instance to show the frame of mind existing.

Gaily decorated with flags, the *Both* steamed into the harbour of Tandjong Priok at 7 a.m. on the 10th December; a vast multitude assembled to greet the home-coming troops and words fail to describe the joy and happiness of the meeting after the long anxious period of separation. There were of course many sore hearts and this day of rejoicing was to many a day of sorrow and mourning, but outwardly there was nothing to mar the universal gladness.

At Batavia, as well as at Noordwijk and Koningsplein where the train halted, great crowds were gathered to welcome the newly arrived troops and amongst the various military authorities was the Commander of the army; at this point too the Governor-General and Mevrouw van der Wijck and the Colonial Secretary had come to greet Major Scheuer and his battalion.

No one present will ever forget the moment when the Governor General stood in front of the colours in the centre of the battalion drawn up in a square and addressed a few well chosen words to the troops, congratulating them on the share they took in the work of conquest and referring sadly to those of their comrades who had died on the battle-field; when amidst loud cheers Mevrouw van der Wijck placed a wreath of flowers on their flag—on that cherished flag that they had carried high even in the days of disaster.

The troops filed past the national guard, the 10th battallion, the engineers and the cavalry, from the Koningsplein to the esplanade of fort Prins Hendrik.

At this stage the enthusiasm of the people reached its height; two triumphal arch ways with the inscriptions: "Honour to the fallen Heroes," and "Welcome" testified to the feelings of the citizens, who in spite of the heavy rain, had waited from early morning for the arrival of the soldiers. Their approach was the signal for tremendous cheering and their brave Commander was nearly covered by the flowers strewn along his path and every one was anxious to be first to shake hands with the heroes of Lombock. The enthusiasm was boundless and this was but a precursor of similar scenes repeated at Batavia, Semarang and Surabaya. In honouring these brave men we honoured the whole of our Indian army.

By a Government resolution of 24th December 1894, the expedition was broken up, and nearly all the troops not needed for garrison purposes left the island within a few days. The mobilized Madurese and the Madurese free coolies returned to their homes on the 27th December and we hope that faithful Major Majang Koro will enjoy the well-deserved repose he has earned by his unsparing devotion to our cause.

The Commander-in-chief with his staff left at the close of the year, reaching Batavia on the 2nd January; a magnificent ovation awaited him and the public demonstration showed full appreciation of General

Vetter's services; his health, however, necessitated his return to the mother country and on the 13th he quitted the service on a retiring pension and started for Holland.

His retirement was not of long duration for on the 19th June he was nominated Lieutenant-General, Commander of the army and head of the war Department in the Dutch Indies in the place of Gey van Pittius who had resigned on the 2nd of May.

Colonel Swart was left in command of the temporary occupation of Lombock with the 2nd and 11th battalions and the necessary detachments of the other branches of the service; the main body of infantry was quartered at Ampenan, one company with a detachment of garrison artillery occupied a fort, New-Mataram, built on the ground occupied by the former Balinese capital of that name; half a company of infantry was divided between two block-houses: one half way between Ampenan and Mataram, the other at the iron bridge across the river Djangkok.

Owing to the unhealthy condition of the troops at Ampenan, a semi-permanent encampment was established at Kapitan at a higher and more healthy situation.

It was not only at Lombock that the troops suffered much from the fatigues and privations they had experienced during the campaign. Many of the European soldiers who had returned to Java carried with them the germs of illness and more died from the effects of campaigning than were actually killed in combat. *

Meanwhile two men-of-war and one of the transports remained in Lombock waters to put a stop to the opium smuggling; besides seeing to the conditions laid down for the import, export and transit trade being carried out, part of their duty consisted in lending co-operation if needed, to enforce the execution of the measures enacted.

After the departure of the Commander-in-chief the Resident with his staff devoted all his energies to introducing regulations concerning administration and justice amongst the natives and to restoring peace and order amongst the inhabitants, especially trying to render life and property safe. This was a very difficult task, the more so in the Sassak territories where, owing to the long standing state of rebellion and warfare, anarchy had become the order of the day and the few remaining chiefs were contending among themselves for the upper hand.

Controller Engelenberg was especially appointed to supervise the East coast and make the chiefs understand the real need of the new measures for the restoration of law and order, and his instructions were most stringent concerning the traffic in men and the old laws of vassalage. The improvement of the roads and the irrigation system also claimed a considerable share of his attention.

As long as no decision was arrived at regarding the future govern-

* Total of killed: 15 officers, 96 European, 34 Amboynese and 36 native soldiers, in all 175. Total wounded: 30 officers, 238 Europeans and 235 native soldiers, in all 503; of these 5 officers, 20 Europeans and 19 native soldiers died afterwards.

From an account in the "Bat. Nieuwsblad" 175 Europeans, 33 Amboynese and 38 native soldiers, in all 246 men, died from sickness, fatigue and exhaustion.

ment of the islands all the regulations bore only a provisional character, but by the middle of the following year, 20th July, 1895, the vexed question was finally settled by taking Lombock under our direct administration. It now forms an assistant-residency under the Resident of Bali and Lombock.

Whilst investigations were being made, as to at whose door lay the blame for the attack of 25th—26th August the previous year, the old Rajah died at Batavia on 20th May.

Towards five o'clock in the afternoon of that day he felt ill and it was decided to call in the doctor; the old prince went to bed and drew a heavy sigh, attracting the attention of one of his suite. On reaching the bed-side life was extinct; the Rajah had died painlessly of cessation of the heart's action. The union of the Atman and the body was terminated and the calm features bore no traces of the sufferings this once powerful prince had passed through.

In accordance with the Balinese custom the body was purified, wrapped in linen and costly cloths, then placed in a coffin decorated with linen and flowers, around which his followers watched and prayed all night.

The funeral took place quietly the following morning, the hour purposely being kept secret; the poenggawas carried the coffin to the boundary of the homestead, whence the bier was carried by sixteen natives to the burial ground at Karet; alongside the coffin walked two attendants carrying umbrellas to protect the corpse from the rays of the sun, as is customary amongst the Balinese. A small crowd of casual passers-by on the road stared at the procession with curiosity, but without having the least idea who was being conveyed to his last resting-place. The coffin was lowered into a grave in an enclosed piece of ground of the cemetery in the presence of the Resident, the assistant resident and the sheriff. Such was the end of Lombock's last prince!

Concerning the other members of the dynasty, three more of whom had been despatched to Batavia in the middle of May, it was decided, conformably to Article 47 of the administration laws, that they should live elsewhere in Dutch India; in the interests of peace and order their return to the island could not be permitted.

The same measure applied equally to Datoe Pangeran, there having been abundant evidence to prove that he and his Balinese relatives took part in the revolt against our government.

The greater part of the poenggawas and many of the prince's followers were allowed to return home after his death, some having already gone in February.

To complete our subject it might have been advisable to discuss further developments in Bali and to describe how the fall of the Balinese princes in Lombock affected the sister island but space forbids us to enter into any more details; we fear to have already somewhat tried the patience of our readers.

Just one word about our friend Gusti Djilantik.

On the one hand, he has to contend with a very influential Balinese party at Karang Assim hostile to us and who, during his absence, sent an embassy to Bangli and Gianjar to incite rebellion and an attack on the District of Boelèlèng; a strong party who reproach him with the death of Madé and sympathy with our interests to the detriment of the Balinese....

On the other hand he is threatened with his old enemy Karang Assim, the Dewa Agong of Klocnkoeng, who asks for nothing better, than, with our help, to settle with him for good and all.

There he stands between two fires, his conduct towards us certainly not having been strictly straightforward.

It is a difficult position for Djilantik, but at the same time, a source of embarrassment to our Government and a successful solution of the problem will call for great tact and prudence.

If, shortly after the revolt broke out, Djilantik had been arrested, as his behaviour towards General Van Ham and the Resident Dannenbargh warranted, we should have been in a position to place Karang Assim under our direct control and further grounds were given for this by the conspiracy of the Karang Assim party and the correspondence which passed between Djilantik and our enemy Datoe Pangeran.

Djilantik's capture could not have been effected without a struggle, but, with our strong triumphant forces and with the impression created by our victory, this could easily have been accomplished taking into consideration the condition of Bali.

However, this step was not taken and after a good deal of discussion, our Government decided to leave Djilantik to govern Karang Assim provisionally, as our representative.

The difficulties with which he is beset, the intense desire of our Government to avoid every thing that may lead to disturbance at Karang Assim, and the necessity of supporting Djilantik, to prevent his throwing himself into the cause of the Karang Assim party—all these things point to a long continuance of the present state of affairs, but it is only a temporary arrangement and we must never for a moment lose sight of our political goal in Bali.

We have finished our task and no one more than the writer himself is so fully aware of its many shortcomings.

The main object of the book has been to endeavour to tell the truth and we hope to have succeeded in giving a faithful picture of this highly remarkable country and people, of their sufferings and of their struggles, of the fall of their Prince and the way in which a newly conquered province has been added to our magnificent possessions in the East! We owe our best thanks to the hearty co-operation we have received from his Excellency, the colonial minister, Mr. J. H. Bergsma, with whose permission we received valuable assistance from Heer Referendaris J. J. Vichoff, chief of the third office of East India affairs in that

Department, and also to the many whose names have already been mentioned and to many, whose names we are not at liberty to disclose.

It is difficult for an historian to abstain from criticism, but in seeking to be as impartial as possible we have been happy to find more occasions for praise than blame, with full appreciation for the manner in which the expedition was prepared, carried out and brought to a triumphant end. It has been an intense satisfaction to us to narrate the deeds of loyalty, heroism and self-sacrifice of our Indian army and thereby to save from oblivion the unimpeachable conduct of our brave soldiers.

One last page remains to be added to our story, a glorious one.

It was the 6th July 1895 and a glorious summer's day; the cloudless blue sky seemed as if it were desirous to participate in the homage about to be paid to our heroes; thousands of spectators had gathered to witness the solemnity about to take place in the Malieveld; at noon loud cheers announced the arrival of the two Queens, who with their presence, were about to grace the touching ceremony. The young Queen herself was going to bestow the order "For Valour, Prudence and Fidelity" (Military Order of the Netherlands); from the Commander-in-chief down to the soldier of lowest rank, every man presented himself before his young Queen and she attached the "order" to his breast, as it was handed to her by Atchin's old hero, General van der Heijden. *

It was a moment of solemn silence when the Queen-Regent stepped forward and addressed the troops:

Officers, non-commissioned officers, corporals and soldiers!

"It was the Queen's wish to present this mark of honour to those who have fought for the maintenance of our power in our possessions across the sea. From my heart I congratulate you all.

"You deserved this distinction when in troublous times you were willing to sacrifice your lives for your Queen and your country and thereby added a new and glorious page to the annals of the army and the navy.

"I join with the Queen in honouring you all at this moment for the magnificent proofs you have given in the conscientious fulfilment of your duty, for your self-sacrifice and your fearlessness in the face of death.

"You may look back to those days of hardship with legitimate pride and it is a privilege for me to thank both army and navy for their services to the Queen and the Fatherland; and at the same time we pay homage to the memory of those who fell in the struggle.

"Honoured be the men who met their death fighting for their country's honour. They cannot receive the reward for their courage, for, faithful unto death, they have given up their lives. Officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers, tell your comrades in the Indies that both Queen and people feel for them the highest admiration and gratefully acknow-

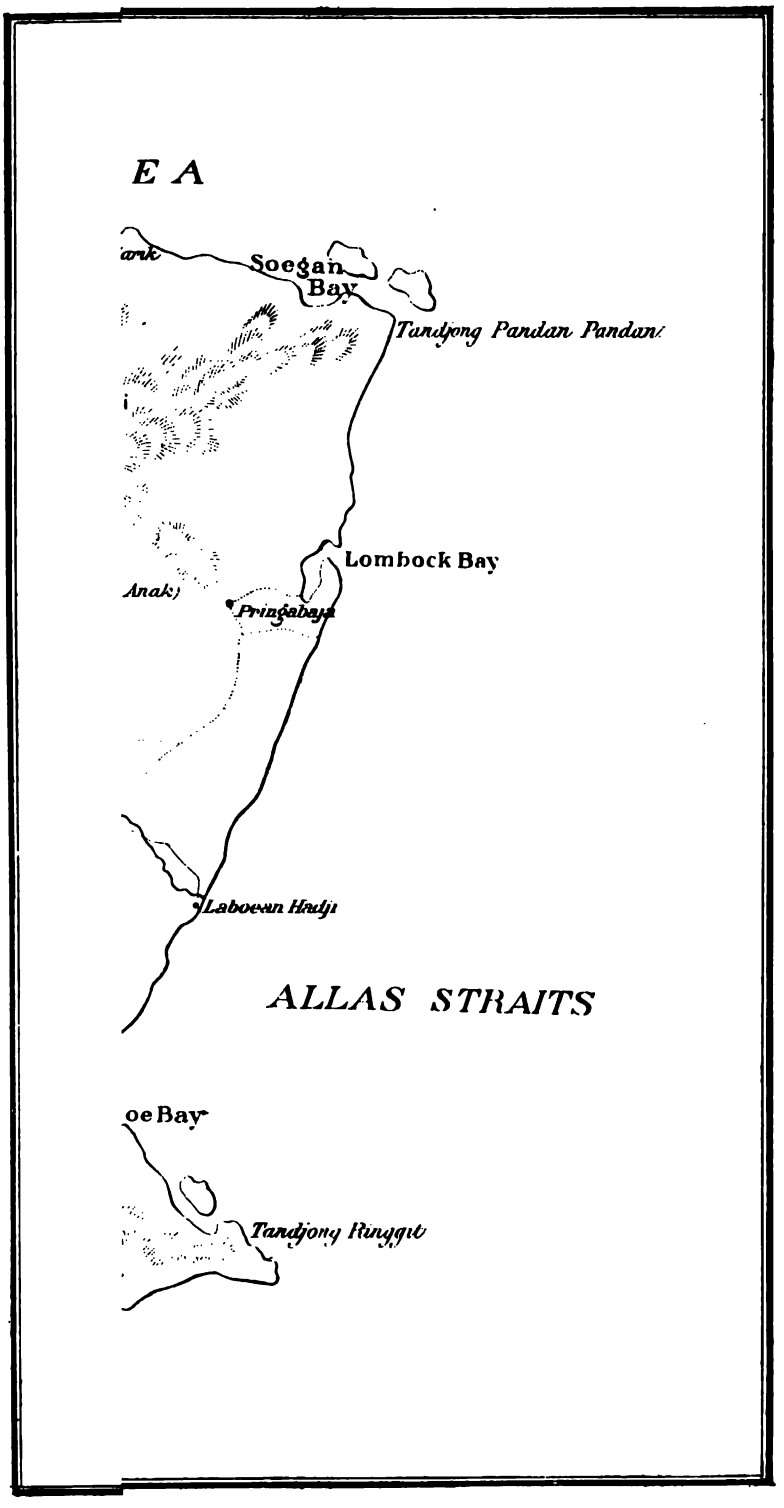
* At Batavia the presentations had been made on the 22nd June.

ledge that the Indian army fulfils its calling with honour. May success ever accompany your arms for the honour of our colonies and the welfare of our country."

The moment is indelibly marked on the memory of all present when the young Queen exclaimed:

"Long live the Indian army." The deafening cheers, the "Long live the Queens!" that rose spontaneously in response were an outlet for the pent-up feelings of all; it was an unasked for, and therefore all the more sincere, oath of allegiance and loyalty to Netherlands' beloved Mistress! It was a fitting close to the Lombock Expedition!

FINIS.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Lombock Bay
Anak)
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Year, its length in Bali, 80, 102.

# GLOSSARY OF A FEW WORDS NOT SUFFICIENTLY EXPLAINED IN THE TEXT.

**Badjoe,** jacket fastening at the neck ..... 118
**Balé-agong,** public room where meetings are held; temporary lodgings for visitors. 135
**Balé-balé,** bench ..... 135
**Bedak,** ointment; grease to smear the body with ..... 45
**Bugis,** inhabitants of the island of Boni ..... 12
**Boeta,** giant; evil spirit ..... 68
**Dalem** *or* dalam, literally speaking, the interior or appertaining to the court; also used to designate the royal residenee, as in this case ..... 35
**Dessa,** native village or hamlet lying outside the town ..... 1
**Dewa agong,** dewa is a title given to a Hindu divinity — agong means great ..... 6
**Hadji,** pilgrims who have been to Mecca ..... 3
**Kambèn** *or* **Kamban,** covering worn to protect the body ..... 87
**Kaboejoetan,** temple belonging to one family ..... 71
**Kala,** scorpion; evil spirit ..... 68
**Kati,** weight measure of about 1¼ lb ..... 2
**Keping** *or* **Kepeng,** coin of the value of one fifth of a farthing ..... 1
**Kerta,** a court of justice ..... 87
**Mandoor,** a native employed to superintend people at their work ..... 38
**Mepadik,** lawful marriage contracted with the consent of the bride's and the bridegroom's parents or their representatives ..... 106
**Padanda,** priest ..... 68
**Pangeran,** prince, title given to royalty ..... 35
**Pasimpangan,** a temporary resting place ..... 75
**Pas' wara Sassak,** Sassak code of law ..... 121
**Penjarikan,** village-clerk ..... 137
**Pikol,** species of horse found in large numbers in Lombock ..... 24
**Poeri,** interior of a palace, borough or town; frequently used to edsignate the palace itself ..... 11
**Pumbuckle,** representative of a prince; village chief ..... 9
**Punggawa** *or* poengawa, chief, commander; also high state official ..... 3
**Raden,** old title of nobility in Java ..... 4
**Sawah,** rice plantation ..... 1
**Salendang** *or* **selendang,** kind of long scarf, worn over the shoulders or round the loins 100
**Sirih,** betel, a species of pepper, the leaves of which are chewed by the natives of the East-Indies ..... 45
**Soebak,** guild, union ..... 132
**Tegal,** high-lying land not suitable for wet rice culture ..... 133
**Tjéleng** (also called Babi oetan), wild boar ..... 82
**Toja-tirta,** holy water ..... 132
**Waidono** (wedono), chief of district ..... 48

## ERRATA.

Page 211. Budhist, should be Buddhist.
„ 256. Instead of the name of Ratoe Agoeng G'dé Ngoerah Karang Asem, Rajah of Lombock there should be Gusti Djilantik.

Previous to his ascent to the throne the old Rajah, who died at Batavia in 1895 was called Anak-Agoeng G'dé Ngoerah Karang-Asem; after his ascent he was styled Ratoe-Agoeng G'dé Ngoerah Karang-Asem.

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